

# THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

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## ARTICLE I.—MÜLLER'S LIFE OF TRUST.

*The Life of Trust : being a Narrative of the Lord's Dealings with Geo. Müller, written by himself. Edited and condensed by Rev. H. Lincoln Wayland, Pastor of the Third Baptist Church, Worcester, Mass., with an Introduction by Francis Wayland. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1861. pp. 490.*

This book has very distinct claims upon our notice as Christian reviewers. The facts which it records are so remarkable, that the character and work of Mr. Müller have come to be popularly known under the title of "The Bristol Wonder." These facts have a direct and vital bearing upon the Christian life, in its most distinctive and practical aspect, as a life of faith. They are recorded and published with the avowed design of correcting a supposed defect in our prevalent Christianity. The aim of Mr. Müller is nothing less than to effect a complete revolution in our practical theology, and in our daily life. The book comes before the Christian public with a high and influential endorsement. It is recommended to favor by the emphatic and unqualified commendation of one whose name is not only distinguished within our own communion, but deservedly ranks among the most honored in our American Zion. The book has had, as might naturally be expected,

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an extensive sale ; and is no doubt exerting a wide influence in the Christian community. These, in brief, are some of its chief claims to an extended notice in our pages.\*

A brief abstract of Mr. Müller's life and labors will prepare us for a careful examination of the theory which his book is mainly designed to recommend.

George Müller was born at Kroppenstaedt, in Prussia, Sept. 27, 1805. His father, though not a religious man, wished to educate George for the church, and accordingly sent him to a school in Halberstadt, to be prepared for the University. Here he remained from his eleventh till his sixteenth year, making little progress in study, and indulging freely in the youthful vices which were common among his fellows. In his fifteenth year he was confirmed and admitted to the communion. He went through this ceremony, to use his own expression, "without prayer, without true repentance, without faith, without knowledge of the plan of salvation." For several years after this he went on much in the same way, a negligent scholar, a deceitful and wasteful son, and a dishonorable repudiator of dishonorable debts ; but all the time a partaker of the communion at the customary semi-annual seasons. In his twentieth year he became a member of the University of Halle ; and, as a student of divinity, he was now authorized to preach. He began now to bethink himself more seriously of reforming his vicious life ; for he feared if he was not more studious he would never get appointed to a good living, and if he was not more virtuous he would never find a parish willing to receive him as their pastor. These better thoughts, however, did not have sufficient influence over him to prevent him from making a journey of six weeks in Switzerland with forged passports, in company with three other students, while his father thought he was busy with his books at Halle. But this journey was not very expensive to him ; for having the good fortune to be chosen paymaster for the party, he managed his stewardship so adroitly that his own outlay was only

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\* A brief notice of *The Life of Trust* appeared in the April number of this *Review*, in the record of recent publications.



about two-thirds as much as that of each of his companions. In some countries such financial talents secure high places in the public service.

Mr. Müller thus describes his religious condition when he was a little past twenty years of age: "I had no Bible (he owned three or four hundred volumes at this time), and had not read in one for years. I went to church but seldom. I had never heard the gospel preached. I had never met with a person who told me that he meant, by the help of God, to live according to the Holy Scriptures. In short, I had not the least idea that there were any persons really different from myself, except in degree." Such was his spiritual state, when, in November, 1825, he was told by a fellow student of a Saturday evening meeting at the house of a Christian, where the services consisted of reading the Bible, singing, praying, and reading a printed sermon. He at once felt a strong desire to go. He went, and was greatly interested and delighted. "I was happy," he says, "though, if I had been asked why I was happy, I could not have clearly explained it. . . . . I have not the least doubt that on that evening the Lord began a work of grace in me, though I obtained joy without any deep sorrow of heart, and with scarcely any knowledge. But that evening was the turning-point in my life." In the course of the following week, he went three or four times to read the Scriptures and pray with this newly found Christian friend, for he could not wait till Saturday came again.

He now abandoned his wicked companions, forsook the tavern, no longer indulged in habitual lying, read the Scriptures, prayed, went to church, and stood on the side of Christ, though laughed at by his fellow students. About two months after this he was able, as he says, for the first time in his life, to give up himself to God fully and unreservedly; and he now began to enjoy the peace of God which passeth all understanding. About the same period Dr. Tholuck came to Halle as Professor of Divinity, and this brought thither a few Christian students from other Universities, whose society was very helpful to Mr Müller.

In March, 1829, nearly a year after he had completed his

course of study at Halle, he went to London, with a view of engaging in missionary service among the Jews, under the patronage of the English Society for Jewish Evangelization. A severe attack of sickness soon after his arrival, made it necessary for him to spend a little time in the South of England. While at Teignmouth, in Devonshire, he became acquainted with some of the Plymouth Brethren, through whose influence his mind was led to embrace new views on several important points. "God began then to show me," he says, "that His word alone is our standard of judgment in spiritual things; that it can be explained only by the Holy Spirit; and that in our day, as well as in former times, He is the teacher of his people. . . . . The Lord enabled me to put this to the test of experience, by laying aside commentaries, and almost every other book, and simply reading the word of God and studying it. The result of this was, that the first evening that I shut myself into my room, to give myself to prayer and meditation over the Scriptures, I learned more in a few hours than I had done during a period of several months previously." (pp. 54, 55).

Toward the close of the year 1829, he was led to doubt the propriety of continuing under the patronage of the London Society. It seemed to him unscriptural for a servant of Christ to put himself under the control and direction of any one but the Lord. After a friendly correspondence with the Society, his connection with it was dissolved.

Mr. Müller now went to visit the South of England, and preached with great acceptance in the Ebenezer Chapel at Teignmouth, the very place where he had first heard the views of the Plymouth Brethren advanced. He soon received and accepted a unanimous call from the Church worshipping there to become their pastor, with a salary of about \$250 a year. Mr. Craik, a minister from Scotland, was associated with him in his pastoral labors here. In the spring of 1830, having become convinced that according to the Scriptures baptism should only be administered by immersion, he was baptized.

Mr. Müller gives a particular account of the arguments

which led to this conviction ; but that account, we know not for what reason, is wholly omitted in the American edition. His views on this subject seem to us quite as worthy of publicity as those on the subject of pew-rents and ministers' salaries. About this time he began to have conscientious scruples about receiving a stated salary. His objections were : 1st, That the salary was made up by pew-rents, which is contrary to Jas. ii : 1-6, as in general the poor brother cannot have so good a seat as the rich. 2d, Some of the brethren might not find it convenient to pay at the time the quarter came round, though very willing to contribute, if left to their own time ; and so they might give grudgingly, or of necessity, instead of being cheerful givers, such as God loves. 3d, Pew-rents are a snare to the servant of Christ, in respect to his ministerial faithfulness, inasmuch as his salary depends upon the favor of the pew-holders. For these reasons, he stated to the brethren, that he should not henceforth take any regular salary, but that he had no objection to receive voluntary gifts from any of them, though ever so small. A box was accordingly put up in the chapel, over which was written, that whoever had a desire to do anything towards his support, might put his offering in the box. About the same time he complied literally with Luke xii: 33, by selling what he had and giving it in alms. The property which he thus gave up to the Lord, yielded an income of about £100 a year. He only reserved of the proceeds about £5 for his immediate necessities. He thus relinquished a regular income of from \$725 to \$750 a year, including his salary. What was the result? The first year, he received in all about \$600 ; the second year, more than \$700 ; and for the twenty-four following years various sums, from \$900 to \$3300. His receipts never fell short of \$1000 after the third year ; were never less than \$1500 after the twelfth year ; and from the twenty-first year onward, they invariably exceeded \$2000. The average per annum from 1830, when he began to depend upon voluntary gifts, to 1855, was \$1680. The average for the last eleven of these years was over \$2300. This is exclusive of a donation of £500 to pay the expenses of his journey to his native land in 1844, and also of the gratu-

itous support and instruction of his daughter, for several successive years, estimated by him at £50 per annum. The large sums mentioned in the latter years, were therefore contributed for the support of only two persons, Mr. Müller and his wife, as they had no other children but the daughter above named. Thus Mr. Müller found by experience, that, to use his own favorite expression, there was a reality in dealing with God alone; for he made it a strict rule, whatever his necessities might be (and they were sometimes very trying, during a few of the first years), never to ask any person for anything, nor to make known his wants.

In May, 1832, both Mr. Müller and Mr. Craik removed to Bristol, and took charge of the Bethesda Chapel in that city. Soon after their arrival, they commenced a daily distribution of bread to the destitute, especially to poor children and aged persons. The number of applicants for this charity soon increased so much, that the neighbors complained of the annoyance of having the street filled with paupers. Mr. Müller was therefore obliged to tell them that he could no longer assist them in this way. But he desired very earnestly not only to relieve their bodily wants, but still more to supply their spiritual necessities. This led him to resolve to form a new Missionary Institution. The reason which he gives for adding another to the many existing institutions of Christian benevolence, are: 1st, That the existing societies aim at a false end, the conversion of the world. The world is not to be converted in the present dispensation. It is unscriptural to expect such a result. 2d, The worldly character of these societies; any one who pays a certain sum is considered a member, and has a right to vote, however openly sinful his life may be. 3d, These societies solicit money from the unconverted, which is contrary to Scripture. 4th, Even the managers of these societies are in some instances unconverted men. 5th, They commonly endeavor to obtain persons of rank or wealth to preside at their public meetings, in order to attract the public. 6th, Almost all these societies contract debts.

The Missionary Institution which Mr. Müller and his colleague established, expressly discarded all the above principles



and practices. It was called "The Scriptural Knowledge Institution for home and abroad." Its objects were : 1st, To assist day schools, Sunday schools, and adult schools, in which the teachers are believers, and in which the way of salvation is scripturally pointed out. 2d, To circulate the Holy Scriptures. 3d, To aid missionary efforts. This Institution went into operation in March, 1834. During the first fifteen months of its existence, the free will offerings received for carrying on the work (for it was resolved from the first not to solicit contributions, even from believers), amounted to \$1675. With this sum, 439 children were instructed in the day schools, about 800 copies of the whole Bible, and nearly as many copies of the New Testament in addition, were put in circulation ; and \$540 were sent to missionaries laboring in Canada, in the East Indies, and on the continent of Europe. From this comparatively small beginning, this Society grew rapidly in resources and efficiency. In December, 1840, the circulation of Religious Tracts was added to the previous objects. About twelve years later, the annual report shows that four day schools, containing nearly three hundred children, were entirely supported ; and three others, containing nearly two hundred children, assisted. One Sabbath School of one hundred and eighty-four children, was entirely supported, and two others with over two hundred children were assisted. An adult school of ninety persons was also wholly supported. The department of tract distribution had expanded wonderfully. More than 300,000 tracts and small books were circulated. For all the objects of the Institution, the income for the year was \$16,800. During the year 1859-60, the income had increased to nearly three-fold this last amount. It was more than \$46,200. Out of this large sum about \$1,840 were spent for circulating the Scriptures ; \$2,375 for the schools ; \$7,620 for tracts ; and \$23,165 in aid of missionaries, more than one hundred missionaries in different parts of the world being assisted out of these funds.

But by far the most remarkable part of the work in which Mr. Müller has been engaged, is that connected with his Orphan Asylums. The example of Franke seems to have first

suggested the idea to his mind, and after much meditation and prayer, he decided to open an Asylum. His primary object in entering upon this work, was not the benefit to the orphans, although he strongly desired to do good to them both bodily and spiritually, but to strengthen the faith of the children of God in general, by proving that God would, in answer to prayer alone, without any one being solicited to give, provide all that should be necessary for the support of these orphans. He began the work, therefore, with an inflexible determination not to ask any person for a penny, but to go to the Lord in prayer whenever anything was needed. So far did he carry this principle, that he would not give any information as to the state of his finances to persons who addressed inquiries to him, with a view to assist him if needful. He wished to show to all Christians, that God is the living God still, and hears prayer now as truly as in days of old. The first Orphan House was opened with seventeen children, in April, 1836. It was intended to accommodate only about 40, and was soon filled. As applications continued to be received, he soon concluded that it was his duty to open another house. About six months after the opening of the first, this second was also opened, and was soon filled with above twenty infant orphans, making 66 in both houses. One year later, in October, 1837, a third house was opened, and this too was soon filled. For the first two years the amount which he received for the support of the orphans, without soliciting any person, was about \$6,200. In May, 1842, there were 96 orphans in the three houses ; and the sum received by unsolicited contributions for their support during the preceding year was \$24,355. In July, 1843, a fourth Orphan House was opened. These four institutions were all in one street, in the midst of the city of Bristol. There were many more applicants than could be received with the existing accommodations, and there was no opportunity for enlargement in the location then occupied. For these and other reasons, Mr. Müller came to the conclusion that it was his duty to *build* a house for the Orphans outside of the city, where they could have more room for their play, and also where land could be obtained for cultivation.

The cost of building a house for 300 children, he estimated would be not less than £10,000. For this sum, therefore, he began to pray, determined not to ask any mortal for any portion of it, and not to commence building until the whole sum was in hand. On the thirty-sixth day after he began to ask the Lord for this sum, he received the first large donation of £1,000. In the course of the same month, another donation of the same amount came to hand. About seven months later he received £2,000 in one offering. Other similar donations followed from time to time, with innumerable smaller contributions, until in a little more than two years from the time when he began to pray for the money, he had more than the needed sum on hand, and began to build the house. All this while, we must remember, the Scriptural Knowledge Institution was enlarging its operations and expenses. In June, 1849, the children were removed to the new Orphan House on Ashley Down, near Bristol. At this time there were 140 orphans in the four houses. After all the expenses had been met, for the purchase of the land and for the building and furnishing of the new house, there remained on hand of the funds which had been designated by the donors for this object, nearly \$3,600. In less than a year and a half from the time it was opened, the entire number of 300 had been received, and nearly 80 more were on the list of applicants. Although the expenses of his various enterprises had already risen to above \$27,000 per annum, Mr. Müller now determined to build two additional houses for the accommodation of 700 more Orphans, making the number 1,000 in all. The buildings for this enlargement would require an outlay of about £35,000, or more than \$160,000. Within two years from the time when he decided upon this new undertaking, he received two donations of £3,000 each, and one of over £8,000. It was in the beginning of the year 1851, that he decided upon this last great undertaking; but it was not till nearly eight years after, that the contributions amounted to the sum which he had fixed upon as necessary. In the mean time, however, he had completed and put in operation one new Orphan House for 400 children, and concluded so to enlarge his plan as to make the

remaining building suffice for 450, thus providing in all for 1,150 instead of 1,000. On the 26th of May, 1860, Mr. Müller had the satisfaction of seeing the two houses both filled, and the total number of 700 Orphans receiving their daily supplies from the Lord through his instrumentality. The third building had not been completed at the latest date to which our information extends.

These facts show conclusively, that the signal favor of Divine Providence has attended Mr. Müller's labors. He himself regards this as a decisive confirmation of his theory, that God will give all needful pecuniary means for carrying on such works of benevolence, in answer to prayer alone, without any appeal or address to men upon the subject. To convince the world, and more especially to convince Christians of this, is the specific design of his book. The influence of the book, for good or evil, depends chiefly upon the correctness or incorrectness of this fundamental principle—of Mr. Müller's view of the relation between prayer and the use of means. How are we to expect answers to prayer? in connection with, or apart from, the energetic employment on our part of the appropriate means for obtaining the things we pray for? Apart from all such use of means, says Mr. Müller; in connection with such use of means, says the intelligent and sober Christianity of all ages. This is the issue which this book aims to re-open. This is the question which the readers of it are called upon to decide; and on this question the *teachers* of the Church especially, need to have their minds fully made up.

That we do not misrepresent Mr. Müller's views, will sufficiently appear from the citation of his own words. His object, he says, in establishing his Orphan Asylum, "was not pecuniarily the benefit of the Orphans, either temporally or spiritually; but to strengthen the faith of the children of God in general, by proving to them that God would, in answer to prayer *alone*, without any one being solicited to give, provide all that should be necessary for the support of these Orphans."\*

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\* Page 115.



He desires "that it may become increasingly known, that there is no easier, no better, and no happier way in the end than God's way ; and this in particular, also, with regard to the obtaining of means simply in answer to prayer, without personal application to any one."\* He regards it as the privilege of all Christians to follow his example in this matter. He affectionately warns his readers against being led away by the device of Satan, to think that these things are peculiar to him, and cannot be enjoyed by all the children of God.† Indeed, he regards the way which he follows as so much better and more conducive to the glory of God than any other way, that he thinks it worth while to assume all the labor, the care, and the hazard of conducting an experiment in which the comfort, if not the subsistence of hundreds of Orphans are suspended upon a successful issue.

This, then, is the theory of God's way of answering prayer, which this book is designed to demonstrate.

We would not blink the difficulty which confessedly belongs to the subject of the philosophy of prayer and its answer. God governs the universe, alike in its greater changes and in its minor particulars — alike in things that have no connection with man's free action, and in things which have the most intimate connection with such action — by means of an established order of antecedents and consequents. On the uniformity and stability of this order, all human interests depend — all human action is based. And yet God is the hearer of prayer. His promises in this respect are explicitly large and sure. How can these things both be? If things invariably follow their established order of sequence, what is the use of prayer? If God actually answers prayer, how can there be any such inviolability in the relation between events? There is room here for the mind to entangle itself in doubts and perplexities. But if these views of the Divine procedure are just, there must be harmony between them, whether or not we can perceive that harmony. And are they not both true? No one, surely, will think of denying the existence

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\* Page 390. † Pages 230, 231. See also pages 234 and 247.

of an established connexion of cause and effect. The entire structure of physical science, with all its innumerable applications to art, industry, and the common affairs of life, rests firmly on that unquestioned foundation. And will any one take the other alternative, and deny that God answers prayer? This would be not only a godless and cheerless view of human life, not only opposed to all the better instincts of man's heart, and to the devout faith of all pious men; but it would be in opposition also to a countless array of well authenticated facts. This point is often overlooked by those who urge the uniformity of natural laws, as an objection to faith in the efficacy of prayer. They forget that the doctrine of the efficacy of prayer is something more than a pious sentiment, something more than a point of orthodoxy which theologians are bound to contend for, something more than an inference from the affirmations of Scripture which Christians dare not dispute; that it is a *conclusion* also, founded on *premises*, an *induction* from innumerable carefully observed and carefully recorded *facts*. The evidence that God answers the prayers of his creatures upon earth, is not therefore wholly different from the evidence by which the truths of natural science are established. An important part of the evidence on which our belief in the efficacy of prayer rests, is of the same nature with that by which the laws of chemistry or astronomy are proved. But besides this inductive branch of evidence, there are other arguments in favor of prayer, as being no vain ceremony, but an effectual means of obtaining blessings from the Giver of every good. McCosh, in his "*Method of the Divine Government*," has given a just and forcible outline of the firm foundation on which prayer rests. First, there is the deep and ineradicable *instinct* of our nature, *prompting* us to prayer. Secondly, our condition of *dependence* makes prayer the most *befitting* exercise in which we can engage. Thirdly, the *duty* of prayer is plainly affirmed by conscience. Fourthly, the *providence* of God is so ordered that prayer is *actually answered*, in a manner worthy of his character, and suited to ours. And, fifthly, prayer is recommended by its beneficent *reflex influence* upon the character

of him who prays. The first two are strong presumptions ; the next two are direct proofs ; and the last is an accessory and confirmatory evidence.\* We may be sure that while these things remain true, men will continue to pray, in spite of all philosophical objections and intellectual difficulties.

But the most sincere and devout minds are sometimes sorely perplexed with the question, *how* God can answer prayer, according to his promises, without interfering with his method of governing the material world by fixed laws. In questions of this kind, involving the profoundest problems of the universe, we must beware of making presumptuous demands, or indulging presumptuous expectations. Sober and reverent *inquiry*, even on these deep and difficult subjects, well becomes intelligent creatures, made in the image of God. The spirit of man will not submit to be warned off from all such investigations, as from forbidden ground. It *will* question, examine, explore, the deepest and highest things of God. This is its prerogative, its birthright ; and no good, but only evil, can come from any attempt to stifle and suppress such inquiries. Indeed it would be better for men in general, if they would occupy themselves in these lofty and ennobling contemplations far more, and much less on trivial, unworthy, and debasing subjects. But we must enter upon them with moderate expectations as to our capacity to fathom the depths of the wisdom and knowledge of God. We must engage in them with a reverent and subdued consciousness that in these depths we are beyond the soundings of our mortal line. We must be content, in many cases, to see how difficulties *may be* reconciled, without being able to show with certainty *the precise way in which they actually are reconciled*, to meet an objection with a plausible conjecture, or with a parallel analogy, rather than with a decisive refutation. In regard to this particular matter of the answer to prayer, all that can reasonably be demanded or expected is, that we should be able to find some probable hypothesis on which the fulfilment of the Divine promises in regard to prayer is compatible with the regularity

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\* Book II, Chap. ii, § 6.

of the Divine government, and the uniformity of the laws of nature. Two such hypotheses were proposed by the late Dr. Chalmers. The first was, that there may be just as real and regular a connection between prayer and its answer, as there is between the natural antecedents and consequents which we designate by the names of cause and effect; only this connection may be of so subtle a kind, that it can be discovered only by that spiritual discernment which faith alone can impart. His second hypothesis was, that God may interpose to modify physical agencies, but that this interposition may be in a sphere which is beyond our observation, so that we can perceive no disturbance, and no modification of the regular course of events. The chain of nature, composed of numberless successive links of cause and effect, is fastened at its upper end to the throne of God, while its lower reaches to the earth. We can see and count its links far upward, it may be, but we cannot reach the summit. Far above the clouds which human gaze can never penetrate, there are still other links, numerous it may be, which the eye of God sees, and the hand of God can touch, so as to determine the course of events according to his good pleasure, without interfering in any manner with that order of nature which is cognizable by us. He knows how so to touch those higher links, that a specific answer to a human prayer shall come without any disturbance of that fixed course of nature which we know, and the uniformity of which is so essential to our well-being. This latter theory of the illustrious Scotch divine has been regarded by succeeding thinkers with much more favor than the former, and has come to be a very popular way of meeting the objections of natural philosophers to the doctrine of special providence, and of the efficacy of prayer. And it is a valid way of meeting those objections, since it assumes nothing that can be disproved — nothing that is irreconcilable with any known truth.

But there is, as Dr. McCosh has suggested, another hypothesis which will seem to many preferable to the above, and more in harmony with the general method of the Divine procedure. The answer to prayer may be brought about without any direct interference to modify the previously arranged



course of events, in precisely the same way in which all the other objects of God's moral government are accomplished. He supplies human wants, encourages human industry, arrests and punishes human wickedness, by skilful prearrangements of his all-wise providence. Why may not specific answers to prayer be brought about by the same original arrangements of his providence, without requiring any separate law, or method of operation, for this particular department of his moral government. The conception may be somewhat difficult for those not accustomed to such inquiries, but we think it can be made intelligible. Let us suppose, then, in the first place, a method of moral government in which all things shall be regulated by fixed laws, so as to work out the result with the uniformity and certainty of a perfect machine. Here we have no provision for special providences, or answers to prayer. Let us now make a second supposition, the counterpart, not necessarily the *reverse*, of this. Let us suppose a system of moral government in which the Lord, in every particular case, adapts the providential course of events to the character, the deserts, the prayers, of men. In this last supposition, no provision is made for any uniformity of physical laws, for any regular course of nature. Each of these suppositions is in itself simple and intelligible. They may seem at first view to be antagonistic. But are they really so? Is it not conceivable that there may be a system of moral government which would harmoniously combine the two? which would have all the regularity of the former, with all the special adaptations of the latter? We think this supposition is not self-contradictory. Think what complicated designs are accomplished by human machinery, by mechanical contrivances so ingenious and so perfect that they seem to work out their products under the inspiration of intelligence. Take an illustration from the *weaver's* art. What intricate designs, what complex figures, what diversified patterns, come forth from the loom. The history of a nation might be represented in the delicate tissue of the lace, or the stronger texture of the carpet, and yet every thread and every hue would find its appropriate place, and contribute its part to the gen-

eral result, in obedience to the strictest mechanical laws. The whole connected and beautiful design is wrought out in just as strict accordance with those laws as if it were the plainest piece of cloth of a single color. The only difference is, that the machinery is more delicate and complex. The notches in the wheel must be adjusted with the utmost exactness; the pattern must be changed at just the right instant, or the whole work is spoiled. Now if human ingenuity is able to harmonize such diversified requirements, and to accomplish such manifold results, by virtue of cunning contrivances of material mechanism, is it too much to suppose that Divine wisdom and power may be able to reconcile the uniformity of nature's laws, with the speciality of a particular providence, and the variety of dispensations implied in the answer to prayer? If the cunning craftsman can so adapt his mechanical pre-arrangement to the unalterable laws of motion, as to weave into his fabric a representation and copy of the history of a human life, is it too much to suppose that the *original pattern* of such a life, with all its vicissitudes, its particular interpositions, its special answers to prayer, may be wrought out by Infinite Wisdom in the great power-looms of providence? All conceivable systems of uniform law, and all conceivable systems of special providence and grace, must be supposed to be present to Him whose understanding is infinite. Is it incredible that He could select from them all, two so perfectly *mated* that they would draw together in the same yoke, run parallel throughout their whole course, and work out together one harmonious result, without collision and without defect? If it is no great task for the human inventor to make a clock that shall not only tick the monotonous seconds and strike the daily hours, but shall also show the days of the month, the seasons of the year, the phases of the moon, and the tides of the ocean, may it not be within the compass of the Divine artist's skill to construct the clock of the universe so perfectly that it shall not only declare the regular laws of nature, but also manifest and accomplish the special designs of his mercy and grace?

This is what we have to say in opposition to those who urge

the fixed uniformity of natural events, the inviolability of natural laws, as an objection to the doctrine of a special providence, and of the real efficacy of prayer.

But over against this extreme of naturalism and unbelief, there is an opposite error of fanaticism and credulity. And those who fall into either extreme will be quite as sure to drive some to the opposite, as they will to draw others after them. Here we feel bound to take serious exception to Mr. Müller's book, and to his theory of prayer. The tendency of both is, in our view, towards a fanatical, irrational, unscriptural view of God's method of answering the prayers of his people. We do not, indeed, apprehend any great evil from the direct influence of the book in promoting extravagant and fanatical views and practices. The number of persons will probably be very limited, who will in any practical sense adopt its theory of prayer. But we fear it may exert a more effectual influence in the opposite direction, by repelling a different class of minds, and confirming them in prejudice and unbelief. We would not exaggerate the danger. We are not unmindful that it is with books as with men ; no one actually does more than a fraction of the good or the evil that he or it is *capable* of doing. Still this should not prevent us, in either case, from lifting a warning voice against the evil tendency.

The tendency of Mr. Müller's views and practice is to encourage the idea that God answers prayer to the letter. We do not understand that He ever binds Himself by his promises to such a mode of answering our petitions, except in the case of those whom he has endowed, for a special and temporary purpose, with that extraordinary gift which is often designated as the faith of miracles. In that case it is indispensable to the purpose for which the prayer is answered, that it should be answered to the letter. But to make a universal application, as Mr. Müller sometimes does of these specific promises, is as much out of place as it would be to apply to all Christians the promises by which the Apostles were assured of infallible guidance in respect to religious truth, or the precepts by which they were commanded to heal the sick, raise the dead, and cast out demons. However difficult it may be to draw the

line of distinction exactly, and to assign to each particular promise of Scripture its proper place, on this side or on that, it is a mischievous error to deny the distinction altogether. None are entitled to apply to themselves all the promises of the Lord to the Apostles, but those who are able to do such works as the Apostles did.

Let it not be said that we limit the Most High in thus narrowing the application of this class of his promises, and confining it to a select few. It would be more just to say that those who insist upon the universal application and literal fulfilment of all the promises of Scripture in regard to prayer, limit the Most Wise. They would take from Him who is infinite in wisdom, the prerogative of choosing what is best for his people, and transfer it to them who know not how to use it. The discreet moralist says,

"Still lift for *good* the supplicating voice,  
But leave to Heaven the *measure* and the *choice*."

They venture to determine the choice and the measure for themselves. But God is far too good to leave the matter to our decision. He often answers our prayers by delay, by indirection, sometimes by denial. He thwarts our plans and purposes in order to accomplish his own wiser and more merciful designs and purposes. If He did not, we should many a time be undone at our own request. So it is that God's way of answering prayer has always been understood by the wise and good.

To give us not what we *wish*, but what we *need*, is the method of his wisdom and love. So it was that Paul's prayer was answered. Repeatedly and earnestly he besought the Lord, that the thorn in his flesh might be removed; it was not removed, but his prayer was answered in a different manner, and he rejoiced and blessed God that it was so. "Not as I will, but as *thou* wilt," was the qualification of our Lord's own prayer. Without that clause our prayers might be our ruin. If the Lord were pledged to answer them without exercising his own sovereign wisdom in the matter, prayer would be one of the most dangerous experiments that a man could



make. What we miss in Mr. Müller's views of prayer, is this profound submission to the Supreme Will, this safe and dutiful reference to the Supreme Wisdom.

But the most obvious and the gravest fault which we find with Mr. M. is, that he divorces prayer from the use of appropriate means to obtain the blessing which we pray for. His doctrine on this subject is, that the Christian is entitled to expect what he asks of God in prayer, without using any other means to obtain it. We have already seen how explicit his declarations are on this point. He regards this dependence on prayer *alone*, as the way to honor God most, and to secure the most signal interpositions of his providence on our behalf. This, as we said in the outset, constitutes the radical and revolutionary tendency of his book. And here we fearlessly join issue with him. We maintain that it is no distrust of God, but rather the strictest obedience to his commands, to use diligently all suitable means for obtaining the blessings which we ask in prayer ; that it is no want of faith, but rather the only sound and scriptural faith, to expect to have our prayers answered through the intervention of such efforts.

We do not find that such efforts are any where forbidden or censured in the Scriptures. We are bidden to "be careful for nothing, but in everything by prayer and supplication to let our requests be made known unto God ;" but this does not exclude the use of lawful means, nor forbid us to make known our requests to our fellow creatures also. We are admonished not to be carefully anxious about food and clothing, and assured that if we seek first the kingdom of God, these things shall be added unto us ; that if we trust in the Lord and do good, we shall verily be fed ; and we are directed to ask our daily bread from God, but we are no where told that we have nothing more to do in the matter, after we have asked it of Him. The precept, "labor not for the meat that perisheth," must be understood as the words that immediately follow suggest, in a *comparative* sense. We must be chiefly solicitous for the life and nourishment of the soul, rather than for the life and nourishment of the body.

Not only are direct efforts to secure the blessings which we

ask in prayer not forbidden, but they are positively enjoined. We are commanded to work with our own hands, that we may have lack of nothing. We are solemnly exhorted with quietness to work, and eat *our own bread*. This is a distinct intimation that it is not our *own bread*, that we have no *right* to it, according to God's ordinance, if we do not use the appropriate means to obtain it. This is even more emphatically declared in a previous verse in the same connection. "Even when we were with you," says the Apostle, "this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat."\* So it is that God gives us that daily bread which we are commanded to ask of Him in prayer. These practical precepts in regard to industry, teach us how to interpret God's promises, and in what way to expect an answer to our prayers. And the teachings of Scripture in regard to this particular subject of our daily food, are in harmony with all the analogies of the relation between the Divine blessing and human efforts. The principle is a general one, that what we pray for we are also to labor for, by the employment of such means as are best adapted to secure the desired object. So only in fact are the blessings of God's goodness obtained by men. So it is that the husbandman, the merchant, the artizan, gain that success and prosperity which, if they are devout servants of God, they delight to acknowledge as the gift of his goodness, and to regard as his answer to their prayers. It is God who gives the increase, but Paul must plant and Apollos must water. Neither the sun, nor the rain, nor any other Divine agency that is independent of human effort, will ever do the work of Paul and Apollos. Neither the sun, nor the rain will plough, or sow, or reap, or gather into the garner. So in all other things, temporal and spiritual. Without the wind of heaven the ship can never reach her haven. But the wind will never set her sails, nor manage her helm. Without the effectual grace of God the sinner will never be saved; but he must himself repent, and pray, and keep God's commandments.

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\* II Thess., iii : 10.

These are but common-places and truisms ; and yet they are contradicted, if we understand the matter, by the theory that underlies Mr. Müller's whole book. For without pretending that the matter of raising money for charitable purposes is an exception to the general method of Divine Providence — without pretending that the rules by which our action is to be guided, and the conditions on which we are entitled to expect answers to our prayers, are different in that matter from what they are in other things, he sets aside these rules and abolishes these conditions, in regard to this particular subject. We cannot suppose that Mr. Müller believes the obtaining of the pecuniary means of carrying on operations of Christian benevolence to be subject to a distinct and peculiar law of its own, quite unlike the rules that regulate other departments of moral action and religious usefulness. If he thinks so, we at least do not ; and therefore we say, that if his theory in regard to this particular matter is correct, it ought to be applied to other departments of action—to the Christian life generally. And its universal application would be its conclusive, though costly, refutation. It would result in the wildest extravagance, and the most presumptuous tempting of Divine Providence. Just here, in the connection between acceptable prayer and the diligent use of suitable means, we find one of the most important landmarks which separate between a sober and scriptural faith, and the unbridled vagaries of fanaticism. We believe that God has made the employment of our own efforts just as obligatory as prayer. We believe that He has ordained personal solicitation as a means of procuring funds for benevolent purposes, and that we are not at liberty to discard this direct and appropriate means of accomplishing the object.

But perhaps some one will say, all these objections to Mr. M.'s theory and practice are decisively refuted by Divine providence. God has set the seal of his approbation upon Mr. Müller's views, by the signal success which has attended him in carrying them out in practice. This success is certainly remarkable. And suppose we should allow that the providential favor which has attended his enterprises, was

a decisive expression of God's approval of his method of carrying them on. It would not therefore follow, that the same method of proceeding ought to be universally adopted, or might safely be so. Here we must beg leave to differ from the views expressed by Dr. Wayland, in his introduction to the "*Life of Trust.*" He cannot resist the conclusion, that if *any one* will undertake any other Christian work in a similar spirit, and on the same principles, his labor will be attended with the same result. And he sees no reason why we should not take the case of Mr. Müller as an example for imitation.\* But it seems to us that God calls different men, not only to serve him in very different ways, but to act on very different principles in regard to matters about which He has given no express command. John the Baptist came neither eating bread nor drinking wine, clothed with a coarse garment, and living in the wilderness; and he was a burning and shining light, a faithful and honored servant of God, eminently *successful* in doing his appointed work. Yet Christ did not think proper to imitate the abstemiousness and the self-denial of his forerunner; He came eating and drinking, and living like other men. Elijah was fed by the ravens, without any effort of his own, for a season; and he was a distinguished prophet of God; but this did not make it wrong for Paul to earn his livelihood by working at his trade of tent making, though by doing so he must have abridged to a considerable degree, his labors in preaching the gospel. Indeed, it is evident that the great Apostle had not learned Mr. Müller's art of supplying his temporal wants by prayer alone. If he had, it would have saved him from many unpleasant experiences recorded in his writings. "Even unto this present hour, we both hunger and thirst, and are naked." (I Cor., iv : 11.) "In necessities, in distresses, in watchings, in fastings." (II Cor., vi : 4, 5.) "In hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness." (II Cor., xi : 27.) He was "instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need." (Phil., iv : 12.)

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\* Pages 28 and 29.



But we do not admit the reality of the inference, that the success of Mr. M.'s experiment is, even in his own case, a decisive testimony of the Divine approval of the principle on which he has acted in reference to the particular matter of asking for contributions. The best of men take but partial and imperfect views of truth ; and the favor of God which rests upon them, whether in respect to their temporal or their spiritual affairs, is not to be interpreted as a Divine certificate of their universal orthodoxy. God honors in men those feelings, qualities, and acts, which please Him, though there may be other things in the same men which are not according to his will. If it were not so, how could he bestow upon such creatures as we are any tokens of his favor ? We see this signally illustrated in the case of some of the Old Testament saints. Some of those whose faith is commended in the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, were by no means model saints, either with respect to their views of truth, or to their moral habits. But their trust in God was remarkable, and for this He put remarkable honors upon them. So in the case of Mr. Müller. His philanthropy, his self-denial, his disinterestedness, his untiring diligence, his rigid economy, his strict integrity, his punctual fulfilment of all engagements, his strong faith, his extraordinary prayerfulness, are things with which God is doubtless well pleased, and on account of which we may believe that God honors him with great success, without intending to have us infer from that success that Mr. M. is to be our instructor as to the true relation between faith and works, prayer and effort ; or our pattern as to the best method of raising money for benevolent purposes.

In point of fact, Mr. M.'s own practice is the best corrective of his theory. For while he discards the use of direct and personal appeals, he uses with persevering and commendable diligence, and with rare skill and effect, indirect and public methods of soliciting contributions. The whole tendency of his life, his writings, and we doubt not of his Sabbath preaching also, is to persuade men to liberality in giving. We find no fault with him for this. The Lord has endowed him with extraordinary qualifications for calling forth large gifts from

the benevolent; and as a faithful steward he improves his talent, except in one particular way. We attribute his success much more to that general fidelity, than to this particular exception. We think his power lies in the many skilful ways in which he does solicit, rather than in the refusal to solicit in one particular way. The singularity of that one refusal doubtless attracts attention, makes the man and his work more widely known, and of itself disposes some to give who otherwise would not. But this is no proof of the soundness of his theory. Why, except by a sheer eccentricity, by what seems to us a strange inconsistency, does he imperatively forbid himself to do in a direct personal way what he is all the time doing, more diligently and successfully, probably, than any other man living, in all indirect and public ways? We see no more reason, on any moral or Christian principle, why he should refuse to solicit money from a single individual than from the public at large; why by private letters any more than by published reports; why in personal conversation any more than in public addresses. Every one who reads his book sees how full it is of indirect, but effectual, appeals for money.

In 1835, when he was contemplating the establishment of his first house for orphans, he ordered bills to be printed, announcing a public meeting, and at this meeting he laid before the brethren his thoughts concerning the matter "as a means of ascertaining more clearly the Lord's mind."\* As soon as he began to speak at this meeting, he "received peculiar assistance from God." The next day he sent to the press the substance of what he had said at that meeting.† Up to the autumn of 1838, he had never communicated the state of the funds to any except one of his fellow-laborers in the Orphan Houses. But at that time he was brought into great straits for want of means, and it appeared to him "needful to take some steps on account" of this emergency, "*i. e.*, to go to the Orphan Houses, call the brethren and sisters together, state the case to them, see how much

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\* Page 116.

† Page 117.

money was needed for the present," etc. He felt, he says, "that the matter was now come to a solemn crisis."\* Two other similar meetings were held within the four following days. As the result of these appeals (we can call them by no more appropriate name) to his fellow-laborers, six of them gave between forty and fifty dollars in money, one giving all the money he had, and another selling his watch; two others gave forty volumes from their private libraries to be sold, and one offered to go without any wages for a whole year. All this was within five days after the first meeting was called.† Two years later, another such exigency was met by a more extended application of the same mode of solicitation. "It now appeared" to Mr. Müller "to be plainly the will of the Lord that, as all the laborers in the Orphan Houses knew about the state of the funds, so the brethren and sisters who labored in the day schools should share the trial of faith and the joy of faith" with them. Accordingly they were called together, the state of the funds was made known to them, not however without "laying on their hearts the importance of keeping it to themselves," and prayer was offered in view of the then pressing necessities.‡ As in the former instance, this was followed by offerings from the teachers. When Mr. M. was contemplating the erection of his first building for the accommodation of the orphans, he says he purposely refrained from issuing any circular on the subject, in order that the hand of God might be the more manifest. But to some persons residing in or out of Bristol, he had spoken about his intention, when conversation led to it. "Through this," he says, "if the Lord please, he can make it known to others, and thus send means for the building fund."§

Some years after, when he had decided to erect a second building for the same purpose, he published the exercises of his mind upon the subject, in connection with one of his Annual Reports, stating the amount which he supposed to be necessary, and declaring his purpose not to begin building until he had the requisite means in hand. || After he had decided to erect

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\* Page 147.

§ Page 306.

† Pages 148, 149.

|| Pages, 387, 388.

‡ Page 189.

two separate buildings instead of one large one, as he had at first proposed, he thus addressed the public: "There is enough money in hand to build, fit up, and furnish the house for four hundred orphans, and it is expected that something will be left; but there is not sufficient money in hand at present, to warrant the commencement of the building of both. As soon, however, as there is, I shall be delighted to take active measures with regard to that for three hundred orphans also. I do not ask persons to help me with their means. I speak to the Lord about my need in prayer, and I do not wait upon Him in vain. *At the same time I feel it right to state that there is a loud and abundant call for caring for destitute orphans.\**

. . . To prevent their going to prison, to prevent their being brought up in sin and vice—yea, to be the honored instrument to win their souls for God, I desire, by his help, to enlarge the present establishment so as to be able to receive one thousand orphans; and individuals who have purposed not to live for time, but for eternity, will thus have an opportunity of helping me to care for these children. It is a great honor to be allowed to do anything for the Lord; therefore I do not press this matter. We can only give to Him of his own, for all we have is his. When the day of recompense comes, the regret will only be that we have done so little for Him—not that we have done too much."†

By publishing such notices as these from year to year, with an exact statement of the amount already received, he obtained the £10,000 for the first Orphan House after a little more than two years; and the £35,000 for the other two after waiting nearly eight years. In view of these facts, we see that Mr. Müller's theory of looking only to the Lord, and making no appeal to men, is carried out in practice with very large and important qualifications. Really, the means which he uses to procure money are not essentially different from those which are used by many of our benevolent societies. The American Sunday School Union, for example, has, if we mistake not, for several years past dispensed with collecting

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\* Page 429.

† Page 430.



agents, and confined itself to printed statements and appeals, such as Mr. M. uses so liberally, systematically and successfully. By publishing annual reports, and occasional appeals, and sending them as far as possible to every donor, by making known his plans and his wants to the Church at large, by calling his associates together for special prayer in view of the extremity into which he is occasionally brought, by selling every article that can be spared, by encouraging his fellow-laborers to part with their savings, to forego their wages, and even to sell articles of personal comfort, he advertises his wants in the widest and most effectual way, and appeals very powerfully and successfully to the benevolent sympathies of the public, and especially to those of his own religious connection. Nor does it appear that those associated with him are under the same restraint which he imposes upon himself in regard to making known the wants of the work to others. He does indeed speak on one occasion of "laying upon their hearts the importance of keeping to themselves the state of the funds ;" \* but we do not understand that they gave, or that he required any promise not to disclose what he calls "the precious secret." Each one will judge for himself how strictly such a secret would be likely to be kept, after it was in the possession of several scores of his fellow-laborers. He is careful to say, in his Annual Reports, that the large sums which he acknowledges have been given without any one having been personally solicited *by him*. In the reports of two of the earlier years, the expression is, "*by us*." This was while Mr. Craig was associated with him. In one instance the expression is indefinite—"without personal application to any one." † But in all other instances which we have noticed, amounting to more than a dozen, his language is so guarded as not to imply that no personal solicitations have been used by his fellow-laborers. ‡ We think, therefore, that Dr. Wayland puts the case quite too strongly when he says, "from the first day to the present moment, he has neither *directly* nor *indirectly* solic-

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\* Page 189.

† Page 390.

‡ See pages 239, 314, 343, 363, 395, 400, 412, 432, 437, 445, 453, 469.

ited either of the public or of any individual a single penny.\* We do not find that Mr. M. himself any where explicitly affirms so much as that. He expresses, on one occasion, his confidence that if he should never speak or write one more word about his work, he would nevertheless be supplied with means, as long as he should be enabled, through grace, to depend alone on the Lord.† But that would be a very different experiment from any that he has yet made, and until it is successfully made, we are quite free to differ from him as to its probable result. That, practised from the outset, would indeed have been — perhaps might now be made — a thorough and consistent testing of his favorite theory. And it is very important that the readers of his book should bear in mind, that his theory has not actually been subjected to any such test. We cannot but think that the author of the Introduction has overlooked this point, when he says, “if Mr. M. is right, I think it is evident that we are all wrong.”‡ If Mr. M.’s *theory* is right, it is abundantly evident that we are all wrong in our method of conducting missionary and other benevolent operations. But if Mr. Müller’s *practice* is right, we are not so much out of the way after all. For this practice, it seems to us, does not differ essentially from that of those benevolent societies which dispense with all collecting agents. But even if his practice in obtaining the means to sustain his orphan asylums were entirely consistent with his theory, his success would not, in our view, at all justify a reliance upon the same method in conducting our foreign missionary operations. The cases are very different. Mr. M.’s benevolent enterprises are carried on in the midst of a Christian country, the wealthiest in the world. They were commenced in the heart of a great city, of one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, and are still carried on in the immediate neighborhood of that centre of wealth and benevolence. His large buildings, with their surrounding grounds, daily make their silent but eloquent appeal to thousands of human hearts. His numerous fellow-laborers, are associating con-

\* Introd., p. 23.

† Page 213.

‡ Page 30.

tinually with the benevolent and the pious around them, and communicating by letter with the benevolent and the pious in other parts of Great Britain. His one thousand orphan children must have many thousands of friends and relatives who are interested in their support and welfare, and who, if they are for the most part poor themselves, have acquaintance and intercourse with those who are not. The hundreds who have gone forth from his Orphan Houses, are not likely to let his work be forgotten by those with whom they are connected. How unlike all this is the enterprise of sustaining a foreign mission, on the opposite side of the globe, where the work is all out of sight, and the laborers are separated almost entirely from intercourse with the benevolent Christian public. A method might succeed in the former of these cases which would be sure to fail in the latter. We do not forget that foreign missionary operations are embraced in Mr. M.'s benevolent plans, and that he has actually received and disbursed large sums of money for this particular object. But before we admit that this is a sufficient answer to the above considerations, we must be more fully enlightened in regard to several points. We must know whether those missionaries whom he assists depend *entirely* on such resources, or whether they rely in part on some more regular and secure provision for their wants. We must know whether their wants are in fact so adequately provided for, as to enable them to give themselves in the most undistracted and efficient manner to their work. And, finally, we must know that the experiment has been successfully tried on a sufficiently large scale, and for a sufficiently long time, to determine its feasibility as an improved method of conducting missionary enterprises in general.

We cannot but think, too, that much of Mr. M.'s success is attributable to the remarkable personal characteristics of the man. Fanaticism is not commonly found in conjunction with great practical sagacity. Yet this is a combination which is sometimes seen. And Mr. Müller seems to us to be a remarkable exemplification of this. While his theory appears to us to be essentially fanatical, the vein of fanaticism in his character, which such a theory supposes, is tempered and

held in check by strong good sense, uncommon shrewdness, and talents of the highest order for managing the details of business and superintending extensive and complicated undertakings.

Neither must we overlook, in inquiring for the explanation of his remarkable success, his relation to the entire religious connection of the Plymouth Brethren. These brethren have rapidly multiplied and grown into a large community, having congregations in most of the cities and populous towns, and in many of the villages, of England, Scotland, and Ireland, besides those that are found in France, Switzerland, Germany, Sardinia, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. To live with great simplicity, and to bestow a large part of their earnings on works of charity, are characteristic of the body; and if not express conditions of membership in it, they are exhibited with all that fervor of zeal which often marks the early history of a new and growing sect. To this whole zealous and self-denying brotherhood, Mr. M.'s work is no doubt familiarly known, and he seems to have become from year to year more and more the channel through which their contributions for the missionary cause, and for Bible and tract distribution, have flowed. He may be regarded as a sort of financial agent for the denomination in all these enterprises, as well as in the special one for orphans. He refers, in his Narrative, to some of the rich brethren, whom the Lord had signally prospered in their worldly business, while they had signally honored the Lord with the first fruits of all their increase.\* And we know, from other sources, that the number of these wealthy and liberal brethren in the Plymouth connection is not small.

There are several other points in Mr. Müller's book on which we should be glad to offer a word of criticism, if we had not already exceeded our due space. We cannot refrain from mentioning one: his disparagement of all books except the Bible. His views in regard to the true way of understanding the Scriptures, seem to us very narrow and of mis-

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\* Pages 284-286.



chievous tendency. While they have led him into some manifest errors of interpretation, they will, if applied by others who are destitute of his learning, result in much more numerous and hurtful mistakes. It is one thing (yet not a wise nor safe thing) for Mr. Müller, a graduate of the University of Halle, master of six languages, including both of those in which the original Scriptures are written, and a reader of three or four others — a man of extraordinary attainments in Biblical literature, according to Dr. Sawtelle's testimony — it is one thing for him to sell his books and depend upon prayer alone to teach him the meaning of the Bible ; it will be quite another thing, and will produce quite different results, when ignorant and conceited men (and we do not think many but such will be likely to make the experiment) shall adopt the same method.

The editor of the American reprint of Mr. Müller's Narrative, has discharged his duty so unostentatiously, and has allowed his hero to speak for himself so fully, that the casual reader might suppose his task to have been a light one. But those who know how voluminous, fragmentary, and repetitions the English work is, will not envy him his labor, nor fail to congratulate him on his success. After the experience he has had, the suggestion that the book would advantageously admit still further condensation, may seem to be almost cruel.

That there is much in this book adapted to be useful, we are in duty bound to say ; and we say it heartily and without reserve.

The instances of eminent liberality which it records, the spirit of earnest piety that breathes in every page, the example of resolute avoidance of debts, of high Christian integrity, of strict economy in the management of benevolent funds, of large and cheerful self-denial for the good of others, of unwearied devotion to one work, of strong trust in Divine Providence, and particularly of the habit of carrying all our concerns, great and small, spiritual and temporal, to God in earnest and believing prayer ; all these are adapted to instruct, reprove and profit the reader.

But the cardinal doctrine of the book — that the best way

to secure the pecuniary means for accomplishing the objects of Christian benevolence is *by prayer alone*, we unhesitatingly pronounce a pernicious error, contrary to Scripture, to reason, and to experience.\* And we cannot help fearing that the influence of the work will be injurious in affording new fuel to that disaffection towards existing methods of benevolent effort which has already consumed to so great and lamentable an extent the resources that would otherwise have been efficiently employed in carrying forward those Christian enterprises which are the glory of the age.

We sincerely recommend the book to the perusal of all the pastors of our churches, not only for the good that is in it, but also, and even still more, for the error that it contains. The people *will* read it, and therefore the ministerers *should*.

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\* A late English paper mentions the following circumstance, showing how soon and how fatally erroneous theories work themselves out in correspondent practice: In investigating the cause of the death of two children in London, the police discovered that their parents belonged to a sect called "The New Lights," who think it a crime to use any medicine, God alone being the arbiter of human life and death.

## ARTICLE II.—THE VITAL FORCES OF THE AGE.

THE ages have all along been receiving new increments of power. These new powers, indeed, make the ages—create new eras. Every new truth, as a discovery in science, or an invention of the arts; every old truth in a new aspect or relation; is a new power in the hands of men. Ideas are the essential powers. In the lowest manifestation of power there is an absolute dependence upon thought before it can be made serviceable. The wind that sweeps over the sea would never have wafted a sail, had not the thought-instructed hand first formed and laid a keel, and spread to the breezes the wing of commerce; the waterfall would never have turned a wheel, nor steam have driven a piston, nor the couriers of the clouds have borne a message, had not thought subdued and harnessed them to their work. When thought, therefore, is not itself the power, it is the condition of power, the medium through which it is applied—human thought in all artificial arrangements, Divine thought in all the process of nature.

Passing from the physical up to the intellectual and spiritual, we come into a region in which ideas, using the word in its greatest latitudes, are the sole powers; which, while they work downward upon the physical interests of men, like sunshine and rain upon the roots of vegetation, and so enhance the material properties of the race, yet like the stately palm which yields its fruits in mid air, yield their proper fruits in spiritual benignities, in a larger and truer soul-liberty, and in more rapid advances toward the goal of our best hopes and of our highest expectations. And thus has thought following thought—stimulating thought; idea impinging upon idea, been as a wheel and axle, by which, with much swaying to and fro, much straining of cordage and creaking of tackle,

God is bringing humanity up to the level of his purpose, as ships are raised to their stocks, as blocks of granite are lifted, tier above tier, until the top stone is placed upon the finished monument.

Now, we are to inquire, what are the ideas, and whence they have sprung, which are to-day the most vital and the most vitalizing—which, so to speak, form the *animus* of our age.

The pre-Christian past has made its contribution to our stock of ideas ; modern science has made its contributions ; commerce, jurisprudence, social order, have each brought their offerings and contributed their quota to the forces which propel the age. But above them all, and penetrating them all, and father to the mightiest of them—inhabiting and informing them all, like the spirit of the living creature amidst the wheels in the Prophet's vision—are the forces which centre in and radiate from the Christian scheme.

It is not our purpose now to speak of those special Divine influences which renew the heart and recast the character, and in which, after all, are the hidings of its power ; but we speak as from a lower, a literary, standpoint ; of Christianity as a *thought*, a sentiment acting upon men through the ordinary channels, and by the ordinary laws of thought. It is claimed in certain circles, famed and influential in the walks of letters, that these forces, however energetic in an earlier and less favored age, are waning and becoming effete in our day. Men who talk the language of philosophers, who speak in the terse vigor of practical life, who write in books and monthlies their witty and their witless diatribes against the old faith ; who disguise themselves under the folds of a large-hearted philanthropy, and thrust out from its flowing and seemly drapery, their innuendoes, bare and cold as dagger points ; who poison the public mind, and set afloat unstable souls by the popular Lyceum lecture, in which there is much good and much bad ; in which truth is often made to sugar-coat the pellets of error, and liberal sentiments are adroitly, not to say maliciously, set at loggerheads with the truths of Revelation. These men, and their echoes through the land,



tell us that Christianity and the forces which inhere in it, are dying out, are passing from the living to the dead—that as a system of faith it has had its day, as Judaism had its day ; as Platonism had its day ; and in compliance with the demand of the times, is about to make its bow and retire from the stage ; that, in short, the function and end of Christianity is to act as *usher* to some broader, more philosophic, more philanthropic, forsooth more transcendental, belief, for which the world has at length come into a state of need and expectancy ; a belief eliminated of all the insolvable problems, the stern, distasteful doctrines, from which no exegetical legerdemain can, with any degree of success or of satisfaction, purge the old faith ; a belief, indeed, to which Christianity will hold about the same relation that the Epicycles of Ptolmey do to the Laws of Kepler and the demonstrations of La Place.

Now, we flatly deny this, that these forces are suffering decay, or that there is any thing in the signs of the present, or in the horoscope of the future, which indicates any incapacity in them to meet the exigencies and minister to the wants of humanity. Nay, we affirm, and believe that we can make good the affirmation, that there never was more inresident vitality in these forces, that they were never so far-reaching, deep-working, as in these very days when they are so traduced and maligned.

Ideas have just so much of power as they have of living truth, and by *living* truth we mean that kind of truth which touches men on the practical side of life ; that does not lie as idle speculation in the head, but strikes through the intellect to the heart, and brings its appeals to the “bosoms and business” of men. Now, Christianity is a combination—a *corporation*, so to speak—of just such truths as these ; they form its warp and woof, its base and top stone ; its centre and circumference ; they are, in fact, as we hope to show, the *vital forces* which enter into our civilization, which give efficiency and permanence to all the elements of modern reform and progress—these self same truths of Christianity, laden, as they come to us, with human destiny, and throbbing as they do with human hopes ; and the searching tests of the metaphysical and of the

moral alembic, to which eighteen centuries have subjected them, ought to have set at rest every question touching both their reality and their vitality. The Copernican system of Astronomy has established its immutable truth, not merely by living down all other systems, where it has been brought into comparison with them, but by standing, as no other system did, the most rigid analysis of "figures which do not lie;" and by meeting and satisfying, as no other system could, all the conditions of observed planetary and siderial movements. So, too, has Christianity both lived down all the systems which existed before it, or which have risen up against it, where they have met, and stood the tests to which in all the ages, and under all the circumstances of human ignorance and wisdom, it has been subjected; and thus has proved its capacity to measure and meet the wants of men, and still to lead on the hopes and aspirations to which new eras of science and new epochs of civilization are continually giving rise.

Mark for a moment, the four great battle fields upon which the truth, and so the vitality of Christianity, has been contested; they are the *doctrinal*, the *historical*, the *scientific*, and the *philanthropic*.

In the first ages, the acumen of the Greek mind, and the robust practicalness of the Roman, were laid under tribute, the one in exercising its dialectics upon the consistency, and the other in testing the availability, of the Christian doctrines. And it were long to recount the stern polemics of that age, as defamer and defender matched themselves with each other; Arian and Orthodox; Homoiousian and Homoöusian; Eutychian and Sabellian; Arminian and Augustinian; Sublapsarian and Superlapsarian. But the tests to which the doctrines were thus brought were made to unfold their truth, and set them forth under clearer light, and in grander accord among themselves; as in music, a full diapason is reached in the blended harmonies of the entire octave; or as in architecture, the unity of design is discovered by each separate shaft, rising from the same base, and uprearing the same dome—the temple itself stands before you.

Moses with his Egyptian lore, David with his kingly culture,

Isaiah the clairvoyant seer, Amos the herdsman, Ezra the scribe, Matthew the publican, Peter the fisherman, Luke the physician, and Paul the philosopher—men of such varied attainments, of such different genius and culture, living in times so remote from each other; ignorant, in some cases, of what the others had written, have yet produced the parts which mutually supplement each other, and in their combination form one book—*The Book*—and one system of faith.

Again, as historical criticism grew up toward a science, it attacked the Christian Records with an air of confidence which made the timid quail beneath the weight of its trenchant blows. If Jesus Christ were not a myth, the Achilles or Æneas of a Christian Classic, yet was he a man in no respects different from his fellows except in clearer intuitions, in broader and more catholic sympathies, or it may only have been in the adroitness of his sleight-of-hand, his gift of clairvoyance, or in the easy credulity of his biographers. But upon their own grounds, and by their own weapons have the doughty Knights-errant of scepticism with all their squires, been defeated, and their defeat turned into a perfect rout, by the providential recovery of records buried in the alcoves of ancient monastaries, and beneath the mounds of Nimroud.

Earlier, there had been a conflict on a *scientific* ground. An ignorant and arrogant clergy had imprisoned Galileo; science was slow to forgive the insult, and the discoveries which she brought to light were forged into weapons against the word of God. But when astronomy was held at bay, in this conflict of her own invoking—like Wellington at Waterloo, who in his extremity looked despairingly for night or the coming of Blucher—there came, as with roll of drum and flaunting of banners, and much pomp and circumstance of war, the men who had begun to hammer among the lime formations, and into the rocks of the “Old Red Sandstone;” and though they had not yet succeeded in hammering out a science, they had, in their own conceit, hammered down the Bible and the faith which it teaches. But as Geology attained its majority, and took the rank of a science, it came forward on bended knee, and with head reverently bared, in the person of its

noblest son, and its holiest martyr, to do homage to the records of Inspiration, and build again the things which, in the days of its ignorance, it had sought to destroy.

Yet once again, and in our own day, have the abiding truths of Christianity, and so the vitality of its forces, been assailed upon *philanthropic* grounds. It has been boldly asserted in one section of our country, and echoed by men in other sections, whose sympathies ran in the same direction, and indignantly charged by others who ought to know, and are without excuse for not knowing, better, that Christianity is in complicity with oppression; that the Bible in both Testaments sanctions, and is a pillar in support of, human chattel slavery. And between the upper and the nether millstone of a *pro-slavery* Christianity, and an *anti-Christian* abolitionism, the men who boast of a larger humanity than that of the Bible, look to see the old faith ground to powder, and something broader and more benign take its place.

The Bible patronizing Slavery! leagued with oppression! Who that has marked its progress among the nations, or caught in the least degree its spirit, does not know the falseness of such aspersions? The old Bible of the Reformers—of Luther and Knox, of Bunyan and Roger Williams, riveting fetters upon men! Why, it is the world's Magna Charta; the bill of human rights, which puts into every man's hand as soon as he is born a title deed to himself, and quit-claims from the hand of tyrant and master. On questions like this, mere verbal criticism and hair-splitting exegesis are less to be relied upon than the broad catholic spirit of freedom and humanity, which throbs and glows like a living soul from out its pages, and which lays the axe, whetted for use, at the roots of all oppression.

This pretentious philanthropy, of which we speak and which sets itself so high above Christianity, has made, and with no stint of flourish proclaims the discovery, that man is the unit of all values in the universe—that man and not God is the *norm*; that the proof, nay, essence of godliness is humanity; that the first and great commandment in the Law is superseded, or at best fulfilled in the second. “Evangelical love



to men"—we have lately been told, where we did not expect to hear it—"is loyalty to God." Thus man is taken as the *base line* of all its theological, as well as of its ethical and social triangulations ; the sides about the assumed right-angle (if it be not too fanciful to press thus far the figure), are the *divine* in man, and the *humane* in God. These given, its theorem for solving the knotty problems which cluster around human destiny, is simple and direct. It eliminates from the formula all such terms as punishment, human demerit, Divine retribution, punitive justice. Men are not *guilty*, they are unfortunate ; they are not *depraved*, they are mal-educated ; the *individual* is not to be blamed for derelictions. Society is at fault ; the Church, the State, the School, the Family ; make these right, and they will make men right. Exactly : but how are you to make society right until the individuals who compose it—the elements out of which it is formed—are in the main right ? Such platitudes as these are worse than reasoning in a circle ; they involve as complete a "*husteron proteron*" as the famous hypothesis of the learned German, concerning the Origin of Language—that it was the work of a Convention of Linguists ! And when stripped of all its high sounding phrases, what, in its sole self, is the vaunted humanitarianism of the day, which airs its dogmas and inflates its utopias upon the platform and in the monthlies—what more than just such a "*petitio principii*" and cheat as this ?

And so the old truths of Christianity are thrown aside, as a compass in some battered, old, antique binnacle, whose needle, true to its star, has guided the ship amidst storm and darkness, through reefs, by headlands, off lea shores, safe into port, is tossed overboard by some holiday navigator, to make room for a new box, pretentious with veneering and odorous of fresh varnish, whose needle, of recent pattern, has a very doubtful, because a different polarity from the old one ; Look out ; there is shipwreck ahead !

After the same manner is the Bible virtually cast away, as behind the age ; like the school-books of our grand-parents, good in their day, but antiquated and mirth-provoking curiosities in ours — as beneath the culture of the times. So are

the Alps beneath the pigmy who has climbed to some of their lesser summits, with the Jungfrau and Mount Blanc on either hand towering in eternal strength beyond the compass of his little vision. Behind the age! So is the force of gravity behind the planets which it envelopes on all sides, and bears on in their stupendous marches. And when pigmies remove the Alps, and rear sublime battlements against the skies on which to perch themselves; when the planets sweep in grander cycles and in steadier orbits around some stray asteroid, then may the Parkers and the Holmeses, the Phillipses and the Emersons, realize their dreams.

“There will be”—hear the oracular sage of Concord—“there will be a new Church founded on moral science, at first cold and naked—a babe in the manger again; the algebra and mathematics of ethical law; the Church of the men to come, without shawms, or psaltry, or sackbut; but it will have heaven and earth for its beams and rafters; science for its symbol and illustration; it will fast long enough to gather music, beauty, picture and poetry. It shall send man home to his central solitude; he shall expect no coöperation; he shall walk with no companion; the nameless Thought, the nameless Power, the super-personal Heart—he shall repose on these alone. He needs only his own verdict.” So quoth the seer. And this is to be “the Church of the men to come,”—this medley of “algebra and mathematics”—the sines, cosines and tangents of ethics and sentiment, and moonshine, is the rising luminary which now purples the orient, before whose expectant glories all other lights are to pale, or Ralph Waldo Emerson is no prophet!

Now what we say is this: that as in the *past*, Christianity has vindicated its truth and vital force in its encounters with Dialectics, with Historical Criticism, with Science; has survived the mutations of the ages, the overthrow of systems, the crucible of actual experiment, in which all opinions are tried and to whose searching arbitrament all things must come, despite the venerable names by which they have been attested, and the venerable history which they have on record; as from these multiform tests which discern between the true and the

false, the abiding and the ephemeral, the living and the defunct, Christianity has come forth—has by its own proper vigor *lived down* all opposing systems, by what learning or talent, or patronage, or prestige soever they have been put forth—we claim that we have a reasonable warrant that it will abide the tests of the present, and lead the advance of coming ages to higher grades of civilization, and to a broader and more beneficent culture of the race; and stand like the pyramids of the Nile, when all the gossamers which men are spinning have gone to the winds.

Truth—all truth finds in human nature a correlation to itself; it is an entity as indestructible as the mind itself. Truth is the *norm* of the intellect. Man, formed in the image of God, the God of truth, is himself in some sort in its image. We speak of his original constitution, not of the lapsed state into which sin has brought him. And though, by this catastrophe far removed from the Divine original, yet like the seashell on inland mountains, which still holds in its heart the music that the waves have taught it, so there are a thousand chords within us which respond to the touch and to the breath of truth, despite the shattered thing that the human soul has become. The relation of truth to the mind is like wedlock; the twain are one—each matches and counter-matches the other; hymeneal hands have knit the fibres of each to each. But our poor widowed nature, like the fabled Orpheus seeking the shade of his loved Eurydice, is searching for its mate, and yearning for those beautiful ministries which spring up between affianced souls. Or, to drop all figure, truth has such a relation to the mind and heart, that the more it is perceived and embraced, the more it becomes a living and inspiring power. Error has power only as it assumes the garb of truth—a garb which the rough collision of ideas in this jostling, matter-of-fact world, the wear and tear of discussion, the tests of ever fresh experiments, are turning awry, or tearing off, to the infinite discomfort of a troop of intellectual drapers and tailors, who are patching up the old worn garments, or replacing them by those of more seemly fit or later fashion.

Thus far we have taken rather the *apologetic* view (using

the word in its old sense) of our subject. We proceed now directly to consider the *robust vigor* of the truths which Christianity embodies, and their *relation to the movements of the day*, as the vital forces of the age. Take the old, and to us the familiar truth which never would have been known and felt as a power, had not Revelation "brought it to light" — the immortality of the soul. What dignity and worth does this at once confer upon man ; as when one picks up a pebble and finds it a gem. This truth was guessed at by the old philosophers. Plato, indeed, asserted and argued it ; but the *Phædo* with all its marvelous beauty of diction, its play of fancy, the acuteness of its logic, and the ingenuity of its hypothesis, is but a lame and impotent apology for the boldness of his assertion. And the serenity of the martyr's faith — if such it may be called — carries to our minds, if it did not to the minds of Simmias and Cebes, more convincing weight than the force of the philosopher's reasonings. This is a truth which, so to speak, supplements the convictions and longings of the human mind, as the steam boiler in full blast (if the comparison be allowable) supplements the engine to which it is geared. When embraced and felt, it becomes a power that lifts one to a higher plane of action, into a nobler order of existence.

Take again this truth : the Unity and Fatherhood of God, and the practical corollaries which are deducible therefrom ; that the same blood flows in human veins the world over, whether beneath a white, a red, a yellow, or a black skin ; that the same human heart, beating with the same hopes, swayed by the same motives, warmed by the same affections, and fired by the same aspirations, throbs in every bosom.

These, when carried out, are radical truths — revolutionary truths — and every expedient has been adopted to keep them from spreading. They have been choked down, cloven down, but there is so much of God in them, so much inherent life in them, and they take such hold of men, that they cannot be kept down. They "turned the world upside down" when they first went abroad, and where a false Christianity has not emasculated them, they are still at the same radical work.



In nations where those ideas have not taken root, the people, as such, have never been a party in the government at all. They have been invoiced and rated like any other commodity, as so much *raw material* out of which the few have made themselves great. Christianity, by originating and pushing forward these ideas, and planting them in the subsoil of the nations, has, by their growth, created a *people*; and thus changed the foundation of government from the will of a monarch, or the decrees of an oligarchy, to a compact between the people and their rulers. Hence constitutional governments have arisen under which "kings reign, but do not rule;" under which magistrates are but ministers.

It is the old ante-Christian and anti-Christian idea of caste, foisted upon the world by polytheism — of royal blood and servile blood; of a privileged class "born," as Sidney Smith says, "booted and spurred" to ride upon the back of their menial neighbors; it is the conflict inaugurated between this idea, and the vigorous growing thought with which Christianity expands the intellect and inspires the heart, that has shaken the world more for the last thousand years, than all other causes combined; and it has more yet to do in the same line.

We often lose sight of an underlying principle by making exclusively some particular development of it; and so fail to recognize the far-reaching, deep-working cause, in the presence of astounding results. It was not Celt and Saxon pitted against each other; not questions of legitimacy, of trade, or of jurisprudence; nor yet merely the expansive life of new peoples, but the antagonism of ideas which they embodied, that led on to these conflicts. The absolutism of Spain and of France, which culminated in Philip II and Louis XIV, and the individualism of the Netherlands and Britain, impersonated in William the Silent and in the English House of Commons, the ideas, the one of Pagan, the other of Christian parentage, have been the underworking forces in nearly all the great struggles of Europe, in which modern civilization has had its birth and its baptism. We may say, indeed, that it is one of these ideas wrestling with the other, and tightening its grasp, like the young Hercules throttling the Python;

and these revolutions and convulsions of which we speak, are but the writhings of the monster in his death-throes.

The game of war is not yet played out ; the millenium is an epoch farther off, we fear, than many dreamers have supposed ; the sword and the spear are to be used in sanguinary work a good while yet, before they shall be beaten into the peaceful instruments of husbandry. We have not lost faith in moral forces, in their growing and regnant might ; we believe that the pen is mightier than the sword, provided they could meet on the same field ; that one truth is more than a match for all the rifled cannon and Dahlgrens ever mounted, provided only there could be a fair fight between them. But this cannot be ; argument will not parry a bayonet thrust, nor moral suasion resist the momentum of cannon balls. And so when these vital forces, which can no more be counter-worked than the power of gravity, have culminated in war, as they do and as they will, there is no other alternative but to meet force by force. "The battle is the Lord's," and the champions who fight the first half on the moral field and vanquish wrong there, must don, if need be, a different panoply, and meet the old foe on the other field, to which wrong, when routed in argument, is always so hot to appeal. There, too, in like manner, "the battle is the Lord's," and the second act, which is darkened by carnage, if animated by the proper spirit, is as righteous in heaven's sight, as the first, which was illuminated by argument, or as the fifth, which shall end the drama in the final catastrophe of wrong, and in the peaceful triumphs of Justice and Truth.

Old Independence Hall and Bunker Hill were only different positions on the same field ; and the sixth of last November and the twenty-first of July, witness the same conflict — the one with ballots and the other with bullets.

What to-day are the vital forces which move the world ? They are what a certain school of politicians, whose manhood has been sunk in party, and whose eyes have been sealed up by coin as effectually as the eyes of the dead are, have been pleased to call an *abstraction*, which impracticable theorists would be constantly thrusting forward, to the imminent haz-

ard of the "main chances." And what is it? Why, this same Bible idea — the *divine franchises of the human mind* — this is the great, living, glowing thought of the age; the heart and soul of the forces whose tread to-day shakes the world as never before.

The spirit of commerce which sprang from these forces, the material prosperities which have grown from them, have been juggled into opposing interests. England has been so fearful for the last twenty years of European disturbances, on mere monetary considerations, that she, who should have been the last to do so, has partially ignored these forces; and the government, against the convictions of the true English heart, has sought to repress them.

At home we have tried by compromise and concession, by acts of legislation which have outraged the conscience of the nation; by denying the Higher Law, and putting expediency above right; we have tried to stave off a conflict which these forces were bringing upon us, all the more certainly and rapidly by these very efforts to crush them down. To prevent a crevasse in the Mississippi river, it is not best to *dam up* the waters: to *bury* seed wheat is not the best way to kill it; the clods meant to seal its death do but nurse its life, and furnish the very condition to multiply its growth. Ten thousand living spires pierce the cerements, and grow into harvests of an hundred fold.

"Truth crushed to earth shall rise again."

These forces, born of the Bible, nurtured by Christianity, inspired by its truths, informed by its spirit, and acting through western civilization, are smiting away the *obsoleteism* of China, and the absolutism of Turkey; they are lifting the Muscovite from his serfdom, and from the ashes of the old Roman Republic are springing up in the beauty and strength of young Italy, and forcing from the too reluctant courts of Europe the recognition of her existence, and of her right to be.

The struggle which now convulses our own land is the most palpable result of these forces. Our fathers framed and

established a Christian government ; they built it upon the broad Bible basis of personal freedom, and of inalienable human rights. The exceptional element of African bondage was then an existing fact ; its existence was felt, and avowed, and deplored, as exceptional. But now it has arrayed itself against the moral convictions of the Christian world, and dared to the conflict the vital forces of the age ; from the field of argument and the decision of the ballot-box, it has appealed to the field of blood, and to the stern arbitrament of battle. We accept the issue thus forced upon us, with sorrow but in hope.

There will be suffering—the sacrifice of life—the waste of wealth—the wreck of hopes—the desolation of families. The timid may quail, the doubting falter and cry “peace,” but there is no peace. A free, powerful, beneficent government, which could not be *controlled*, is threatened with overthrow, and what peace can there be till this issue is met and settled for all time !

And we see, or think we see, a good that makes amend for all this evil—a brighter day beyond. The pioneer husbandman when he looks upon the acres of felled forests on fire, and the flames in broad sheets driven hither and thither, does not see the wreck of all his hopes, but a step towards their consummation. Beyond the felling of the trees, and the fires that blackened and consumed them, his eye beholds in prospect the nodding grain and the bounteous harvest. So in the progress of events, wars are often the Divine method of clearing fields for future husbandry and harvest ; processes which seem to be, and which are, destructive, yet stages toward a larger and a better culture. Systems of wrong grow to giant proportions—fill the soil with their roots. Gentle means, moral suasion, legislation, will not remove them ; and so there is sent by the hands of these vital forces, in due time, the axe to do its work ; the fire to do its work ; and the ploughshare to do its work ; and then the seeds of better things are scattered abroad. Revolutions, when produced by the pressure of moral causes, never go backward ; the world moves, moves forward, for this is the line in which these forces act, and the direction of God’s providence and purpose.



Or, to change the illustration, nations, like individuals, have their youth and manhood, and between these stages there occur days of test ; days in which principles are sifted, courses elected, character settled, and destiny fixed ; days which are the initial points of a new life ; which witnessed a footfall into the right or the left hand path that branches out from the forks where the *boy* stood, but over which the forces which are within and around him push the *nascent man*.

So with nations ; and wars have been among the most frequent and important of such crises. Battle fields are the rallying points, not only of armies, but of principles as well ; they are the jointings of history ; nay more, they are the anvils on which God hammers the nations and shapes them to the end of his designs. By these rough smitings he quickens the blood, and wakens the energies of men ; breaks up the disintegrating processes of mere self-seeking ; lays bare principles which get covered up, and inspires fresh loyalty to them ; and so enlarges the life of nations, breaks the seals of prophecy, and opens new eras to the race.

Our nation has passed one such epoch ; the moral forces that move the world made our Revolution a necessity. We are now in the midst of a second — the more desperate and the more decisive of the two. The pressure of these vital forces has brought us to it ; the logic of events has made it inevitable ; it could not be avoided without moral retrogression. We shall pass this also ; and from a somewhat reckless and rollicking boyhood, enter upon a riper and nobler, as well as a more sober national manhood.

Nations old and effete perish in such convulsions ; but young, vigorous, enterprising, self-reliant peoples like our own, who rise to meet the emergency with such alacrity and loyalty, as we have shown, not only survive, but gain wisdom and strength from the rough experience.

“Thrice is he armed, who hath his quarrel just,”

both because he fights with better heart, and because all the elements in the moral world fight for him, and against his foes. “They fought from Heaven,” as Deborah sang, “the

stars in their courses fought against Sisera." With such allies, and who can doubt that we have them in this struggle, can the issue be doubtful? Will He who sifted Europe for seed, and brought it hither in the Mayflower, and cast out the heathen and prepared room for it, and has covered a thousand leaping hills and rejoicing valleys with the verdure of his sowings — will He, while hardly the first fruits of autumn have been gathered, leave the harvest to waste and destruction? No! no! by the faith of the Pilgrims; by the prayers of a godly ancestry; by the deliverances through our early struggles; by the hopes of the oppressed in all nations; by the smiles of of a benignant Providence; by the justness of our cause (not the righteousness of ourselves); by all that is vital in Truth and holy in Religion, and triumphant in Right, we cannot doubt the issue of this struggle, or question the aid of His hand who has led us so far. The past is prophetic of the future. As when in the dead colors on the canvas there are seen the clearly traced outlines, we judge it to be the purpose of the artist to put in the finer touches, till his own ideal transfigures the canvas into a thing of beauty and of life, so our national history anticipates our hopes; it does more, it *complements* them. The principles of 1620, and of 1776, have reached but half their development; they will be more than restored by this struggle; and Liberty, healed of her wounds, her virtue no longer tainted, nor her beauty marred, shall stand in the temple of Freedom, and feed the fires which are at once the flame of patriotism, and a load-star to the nations.

## ARTICLE III.—CONTENTS OF THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.\*

[ BY HORATIO B. HACKETT, D. D., PROFESSOR AT NEWTON.]

THE Epistle to the Galatians is one of the most argumentative of all the New Testament epistles ; both in this respect and in point of doctrinal importance, it stands confessedly next to the epistles addressed to the Romans and the Hebrews. The following is an attempt to exhibit with conciseness, a logical outline of the contents of this epistle. In two or three instances the abstract may be thought to be founded on passages which are susceptible of a different shade of meaning ; but, for the most part, the nerve of the argument is contained in expressions which, by general consent, admit of only one explanation :

The general object of the epistle was to arrest the progress of the false sentiments respecting the mode of acceptance with God, which the Judaizing errorists were spreading in the Galatian Churches, and to bring back the Galatians to their original dependence on Christ as the only foundation of their hope of salvation. For the accomplishment of this object, the writer, adapting himself to the course pursued by his opponents, aims, first, to establish his claim to a full equality as an apostle with the other acknowledged apostles of our Lord ; second, to explain and confirm the true doctrine of justification by grace alone, in opposition to that of works ; and, finally, to administer such counsels and reproofs as the moral condition of the Galatians required. Of these three parts into which the epistle divides itself, the first may be termed *apologetic*, including the first two chapters ; the second *doctrinal* or *dogmatic*,

\* Though this article may be found in another form, it will be new to most of our readers, and has been specially revised for insertion in these pages.—ED.

including the third and fourth chapters ; and the third *practical*, embracing the two remaining chapters. These three divisions follow each other in strict logical order. The first is necessary to the second, since, without an admission of the writer's apostolic authority, his subsequent exposition of the way of salvation would have possessed the weight only of an ordinary human opinion, instead of being, as it now is, authoritative and final ; and since, on the other hand, the great peculiarity of the plan of salvation on which he insists is its opposition to the system of law or works, the third part becomes obviously a necessary complement to the second. Those who profess to rely on this method of justification, are to avoid the error of supposing that because they are separated from the law as a source of merit, they are released from it also as a rule for the government of their lives.

A more particular analysis of the course of thought is as follows. In the introduction, Paul asserts in the strongest manner the divine origin of his apostleship, and his appointment to it without any human intervention ; and invokes on the Galatians the usual benediction from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. In this connection he brings incidentally into view the sacrifice and death of Christ as the means of human salvation, and thus announces the great theme of the epistle at the outset (i : 1-5).

He expresses next, his astonishment at the sudden defection of the Galatians from the truth, characterizes the error which they had embraced, or were in danger of embracing, as an utter and fatal perversion of the Gospel, and pronounces the conduct of those who had perplexed and misled them, to be deserving of the severest reprobation and punishment. He takes the ground, that the plan of salvation as preached by himself was the true and the unalterable way of salvation, and that any different system, though taught by an angel from heaven, must be rejected at once as false, merely on the ground of such difference (i : 6-10).

In vindication of the right thus asserted, to declare as an infallible teacher what the truth is, Paul enters then upon an argument to show, first, that he had received his doctrine as



to the mode of salvation, not from any human teaching, but by direct revelation ; and, second, that this doctrine thus communicated to him was demonstrated to be true by a consideration of its own nature, its effects, its harmony with Scripture, its attestation by miracles and other similar evidences.

First, he claims that his knowledge of the Gospel is proved to be not of human but divine origin, negatively, by the fact that immediately on his conversion he entered on the full exercise of his office as an apostle, without any consultation with human advisers (i : 11-17) ; that he preached the Gospel for years, without any intercourse or even personal acquaintance with the apostles ; and that when at length he went to Jerusalem and saw some of their number, it was a visit of friendship merely, and had no relation whatever to his attainment of a more perfect knowledge of the Christian doctrines (i : 18-24).

Again, he claims that the same thing is proved affirmatively, by the fact, that on his coming at a later period into fuller connection with the apostles, his views of truth were sanctioned by them, as perfectly coincident with their own, though they had been taught personally by our Lord (ii : 1-6) ; that he was recognized by them as standing in all respects, officially, on a level with themselves (ii : 7-10) ; and that so far from having acted at any time in subordination to them, or having acknowledged any dependence on them, he had in one instance opposed his own authority to that of one of the most eminent among them (ii : 11-13). In the controversy at Antioch, he had not shrunk from reproving Peter himself publicly and to his face, for having practically abandoned the great principle of justification by faith alone, inasmuch as he had timidly concealed for a time his real convictions, and acted as if Jewish rites must be superadded to faith in Christ as essential to salvation (ii : 14-21). In confirmation of these statements, Paul presents a brief outline of his well known history, adapted to show that he could have become such as he was, and that he was in fact such as he claimed to be, in consequence only of having been appointed to his work by God himself, and qualified for it by endowments received immediately from Him.

Having thus in the first two chapters, vindicated his authority as an apostle ; or, in other words, shown that the Gospel which he preached must be true because he was taught it by direct revelation ; Paul proceeds in the next place to argue the truth of this Gospel, from a consideration of the system, both as viewed in itself, and as attested by the appropriate external marks of its divine character.

A summary of the argument as developed in this connection, is the following. The gratuitous system of justification as contained in the Gospel, must be the true one in opposition to that of merit or works ; first, because the Holy Spirit accompanies its reception as a witness, that those who embrace it are adopted as the children of God (iii : 2-4) ; second, because it has been sanctioned by miracles (iii : 5) ; third, because it accords with the manner in which Abraham was justified (iii : 6, 7) ; fourth, because it fulfils the predictions of the Old Testament, which declare that Christ was to be the medium through which spiritual blessing should be conferred on mankind (iii : 8, 9) ; fifth, because it agrees with the entire teaching of the Old Testament in regard to the justifying power of faith (iii : 11) ;\* and, finally, because it is the only system adapted to men as sinners.

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\* This principle, as the pervasive one of the ancient economy as well as of the new, is very forcibly brought out again in iii : 16 : " Now to Abraham were the promises spoken, and to his seed. He saith not, And to seeds, as concerning many ; but as concerning one, And to thy seed, which is Christ." The apostle does not refer here to any particular passage in the Old Testament, which contains these words (*καὶ τοῖς σπέρμασιν . . . καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου*) ; but avails himself of this compendious mode of speaking as a convenient formula for summing up the entire teaching of the Scriptures on this subject. It will be noticed that the singular and the plural differ in this, that *σπέρμα* denotes a unity of genus or class with a plurality of parts (as, for example, the wheat is one, though the kernels are many), and *σπέρματα* a plurality of classes (as wheat, barley, rye ; compare *סִיָּרָה* in Sam., viii : 15). It is, therefore, as if Paul had said : " Search the Scriptures from Genesis to Malachi : the promises all run in one strain ; they make no mention of a plurality of seeds, such as a natural and spiritual seed, at the same time ; they speak of a single seed only, the believing race, those who are like Abraham in his faith (see Rom., iv, 12), whether Jews or Gentiles ; and as this restriction of the language to the one seed limits and exhausts the promises as to any share in the blessings of Abraham's justification, there are no promises of this nature for other seeds, such as Abraham's natural descendants, merely as such, or Jews by adoption, in virtue of their submission to Jewish rites.

In confirmation of the last point, it is shown that on the ground of obedience justification is impossible, because the obedience which the law demands must be perfect ; and as no individual renders this, it is evident that as many as are of the law are under a curse. Under these circumstances, therefore, Christ gave himself as a ransom to redeem us from the curse of the law, being made himself a curse for us, and thus providing a way of salvation which is applicable to all, Gentiles as well as Jews, on condition of faith (iii : 10, 12-14).

But it may be urged against a part of the above reasoning, that the legal economy, as established by Moses, was subsequent to the time of Abraham, and hence has placed those who live under this economy on a different footing in regard to the attainment of spiritual blessings. It is replied to this objection, that the supposition is one which the character of God forbids. Even human contracts, when once ratified, remain binding on the parties, and nothing at variance with the original stipulations may afterwards be added to them. In justifying Abraham by faith, and proposing him to the human family as "the father" or pattern "of all them that believe" ( see Rom. iv : 11 ), God entered into a virtual engagement to bestow the heavenly inheritance always and only on the same condition ; and the giving of the law, therefore, which was a subsequent transaction, could not have annulled the promise in this respect (iii : 15-18 ).

But if the law have no value as a means of enabling us to establish a claim to the Divine favor, what end, the objector may ask, was it designed to answer (iii : 19 )? In reply to this question, the Apostle explains the great object of the law to be, to prepare men for the reception of the Gospel by awakening them to a consciousness of their sins, and convincing them of their need of the deliverance from guilt and condemnation, which the redemption of Christ affords (iii : 20-22). We may suppose that while Paul would describe this as the office of law in general, and one, therefore, which it is adapted still to perform as a means of bringing men to Christ, he means to affirm it here more especially of the Mosaic economy, that great embodiment of the legal principle which was established

to prepare the way for another and better system ; and then, as to its outward forms, its rites and symbols, was destined to come to an end ( iii : 23-25 ). Under this more perfect system which is realized in Christ, those who were only the natural descendants of Abraham become by faith his spiritual seed ; those who were servants, groaning under the bondage of sin and the law, become free ( iii : 26-29 ). Those who were children in a state of minority and pupilage, are advanced to the dignity of sons and heirs of God, and receive the seal of their adoption as such in the presence of the Spirit of God in their hearts ( iv : 1-7 ).

In view of this superiority of the Christian dispensation to the Jewish, Paul then remonstrates with the Galatians on their folly and ingratitude in turning back to the beggarly elements of the past ( iv : 8-11 ). He adds his most earnest entreaty that they would return and trust again with him in Christ ;\* he strengthens this appeal by a touching allusion to their former affection for him, and distinctly apprises them that in becoming alienated from him they had been made the dupes of artful men, whose pretended zeal for the law originated in a selfish regard for their own ease and reputation ( iv : 12-20 ).

This second part of the discussion he closes, by employing

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\* This remark is founded on iv : 12, where a more correct translation than the common one would be, "Become as I am, for I also have become as ye are, brethren, I beseech you." That passage has been treated as needlessly obscure. We have the key which unlocks the meaning in I Cor., ix : 20, 21 ; "Unto the Jews," Paul says there, "I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews ; . . . to them that are without law ( I became ) as without law, that I might gain them that are without law ( *ἀνόμοι* )." Meyer's translation fulfils every linguistic and logical condition of the sentence, and represents the view of the best scholars : "*Werdet wie ich ; denn auch ich bin wie ihr geworden.*" We merely repeat *ἐγενόμην* in the second clause from *γίνεσθε* in the first, and supply the substantive verb. For *καὶ γὰρ* = *I on my part*, compare I Cor., xi : 1. The sense, then, is : "*Become in your relinquishment of Jewish rites as I am in that respect ; for I also, who am a Jew, and consequently attached to such rites by every tie of natural sympathy, have forsaken them, and become as you are, i. e., have placed myself upon the Gentile ground, which is that of the non-observance of Jewish law. It is but reasonable, therefore, that I should ask you (δέομαι ὑμῶν) to concur with me, and thus be simply true to your own national position, when I, against every bias of birth and education, have cast aside the forms of Judaism, and assimilated to the Gentiles.*"



the history of Abraham and his family as an allegory or illustration of the two systems which he has been considering. The subjoined are the main points of the comparison which he institutes here. Judaism, or the legal system, of which Hagar, who was a bondwoman, may be considered as a type, imposes a spiritual bondage on those who adhere to it ; whereas Christianity, which is a free dispensation, and hence fitly represented by Sarah, who was a freewoman, liberates men from this bondage, and makes them the children of God. Again, as Ishmael was born in a mere natural way, so the Jews are a mere natural seed ; but Christians, who obtain justification in conformity with the promise made to Abraham, are the true promised seed, even as Isaac was. Further, as in the typical history Ishmael persecuted Isaac, the child of promise, so it is not to be accounted strange that under the Gospel, the natural seed, that is the Jews, should persecute the spiritual seed, that is Christians. And, finally, as Isaac was acknowledged as the true heir, but Ishmael was set aside, so must it be as to the difference which exists between Jews and believers. The former, or in other words, those who depend on their own merit for obtaining the favor of God, will be rejected ; while those who seek it by faith, shall realize the blessing (iv : 21-31). By means of this illustration, the Apostle skilfully recapitulates the prominent doctrinal ideas of the epistle, and at the same time leaves them so associated in the minds of the Galatians, with a familiar and striking portion of sacred history, that the teachings of the letter could never have been easily forgotten.

The practical part of the epistle then follows. The Apostle here exhorts the Galatians to maintain their liberty in Christ, because the surrender of it would deprive them of all benefit from the Gospel, and render them debtors to keep the whole law in order to be saved (v : 1-6). He reminds them of the sad contrast between their present state and the commencement of their Christian career ; cautions them against the danger even of incipient error, and reminds them how absurd it was to appeal to his own example in excuse for their perversion of the rite of circumcision (v : 7-12). He expresses the wish

that those who were misleading then might be cut off from all connection with them, and be accounted as outcasts and heretics (v : 12).<sup>\*</sup> He then turns to warn them against an abuse of their Christian liberty, enjoins upon them an observance of the law as a rule of duty, the essence of which is love, and the requirement of which in that respect they would be enabled to fulfil by following the dictates of the Spirit (v : 13-18). To enable them to judge whether they are actuated by the Spirit, or an opposite principle, he enumerates, first, some of the works of the flesh, and then the characteristic fruits of the Spirit (v : 19-26).

He adds in the last chapter, several general directions, such as relate, for example, to the spirit with which Christians should admonish those who fall into sin, the patience which they should exhibit towards each other's faults, the duty of providing for the wants of Christian teachers; and, in short, performing unweariedly every good work, with the assurance that in due time they should have their reward (vi : 1-10). He warns them once more against the sinister designs of those who were so earnest for circumcision, holds up to their view again the cross of Christ as that alone in which men should glory, and closes with a prayer for them as those whom he would still regard as brethren (vi : 11-18).

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<sup>\*</sup> This is expressed in conformity with the rendering of the common Version. The middle ἀποκόψονται, (v : 12) as signifying *get themselves cut off* from the Christian body as the due reward of their conduct (if that be the meaning), would be represented very properly by our passive. For this passive receptive sense, as arising out of the reflexive receptive middle, see Jelf, *Greek Gram.*, § 364, 2. The occasional use of the middle for the passive is admitted to occur in all Greek writers. See Winer, *Gram.*, § 38, 4; Bernhardt, *Syntax*, p. 342. Wieseler (p. 437 sq.) defends at length this view of the expression. So Beza, Bengel, B. Crusius, Windischmann, and many of the ancient Versions. See Wolf's *Cura Philologica*, vol. iii., p. 771. Yet the stricter rendering in that passage would be, *cut themselves off*. The English, then, like the Greek, could be understood to mean either, *cut themselves off* from the Church, renounce at once and utterly, all connection with it (see Ellicott's note, *Com. on Galatians*, p. 109;) or *mutilate themselves*, make their περιτομή a κατατομή (see Philip. iii : 2), since, as the Apostle would indignantly say, they were so grossly exaggerating and perverting the true import of that rite. Chrysostom's remark represents the patristic interpretation, which was singularly concurrent in this respect : εἰ βούλονται, . . . μὴ περιτεμένεσθωσαν μόνον ἀλλὰ περικοπτέσθωσαν. So also many modern scholars, as Rückert, Usteri, Matthies, Schott, Hilgenfeld, DeWette, Meyer, Alford, Wordsworth, in their respective Commentaries. Winer (*Com.*, p. 117) inclines to the same view, but admits the possibility of the other sense.

## ARTICLE IV.—ÆSTHETICS.

*Cours D'Æsthétique de W. Fr. Hégel, analysé et traduit par M. Ch. Rénard. Cinq tomes. Paris: 1840-1852. Hachette, Joubert et Ladrange.*

*The Æsthetic Works of Frederick Von Schlegel. Translated from the German by E. J. MILLINGTON. London: Henry G. Bohn. 1849.*

SINCE the treatises named at the head of this article were written, profounder and more comprehensive works have been produced, to which, in subsequent numbers, we propose to call attention. At present, led by the authors before us, we shall attempt only a few hasty glances at the ennobling influence of æsthetical studies.

Æsthetics is the science of Beauty, that blessed element of Paradise reserved to us from the fall. A taste for this is at once engrossing and unselfish; it acts alike upon the severer and more sensitive elements of our nature—the fancy and reason, love of emotion and power of reflection, the senses and the soul.

The mind requires more than entertainment and information. It yearns to be elevated by contemplating what is noble, excited by the heroic and charmed by the lovely. We would share in the lofty movements of fine minds, commune with their images of what is godlike, and mingle our raptures in all the ecstasies of their musings. Æsthetical instruction, therefore, is a necessity in human culture, as well as a high joy, since the aim of it is to express moral beauty by the aid of physical beauty. Only the study of this, in its spiritual and æsthetic character, can fully lead the soul to a recognition of its unlimited powers.

Said Sir Thomas Browne, “There are two books from

whence I collect my divinity ; besides that written one of God, another of his servant, Nature—that universal and public manuscript that lies expanded unto the eyes of all.” To this fair volume we would at an early hour direct the attention of the young especially, knowing that nature always prevails. Like the sacred wheat gathered from the hand of a mummy, sow it again in our own modern soil, and it is sure to germinate, flourish, and ripen.

When Neptune and Minerva disputed as to who should name the capital of Cecropia, it is said the Olympian hierarchy decided that the right should be given to the one who bestowed the greatest benefit on man. Neptune smote the earth with his trident, from whence sprang a war horse ; while Minerva produced an olive tree. Thenceforth, as the greatest glory of the age, the arts of peace prevailed, and the product and proof of the noblest fame was set forth in mighty sculpture along the western front of the Parthenon.

If we cannot see the face of God and live, we may look upon his creation and learn at least this exalted truth : that beauty is to the mind what prayer is to the soul—its support and bliss. If we will but walk the earth as Christ walked, in the open air, we may read lessons in stones, and gather wisdom from herbs.

Galleries of fine art are the dormitories of progressive excellence, wherein the heirs of immortality awake on each successive morn to a wider realm and a higher life. It is by their aid we can best commune with Nature, that eternal antique, and yet eternal novelty, sure of finding at once a Fatherland and a God. Gradually and rapturously comes the time when the devotee, thus initiated, sees, like Pygmalion, the world he has half created and wholly admired, break upon him with those glories of a loftier and lovelier dawning, which justify the longest fidelity and requite the fondest love. To pursue the enjoyment of those things which we desire is natural to all minds ; and we ultimately attain what we have pursued, if we warmly persist in our design. That educational process is the best which most conduces to the salutary use of this mental law. Like the new-created Adam, we are best



developed by looking around on the magnificent intellectual world with an open, thirsty mind. As hunger is the force of digestion, so the sigh of ardent desire is the seminal warmth which quickens the Orphean egg of knowledge.

It is better for our souls to know why the bird flies than how; to detect loveliness in the daisy than to number its petals; tenderly to feel the magnificence of mountains, the fruitfulness of plains, the sublimity of oceans, and the beauty of changeful skies, than eruditely to excavate earth for ores, evaporate billows for salt, or prognosticate the clouds for storms.

A correct perception for color is far rarer than accurate knowledge of form, but is by no means less precious. Chromatic tones are the types of holiness, as we may see in nature's sunsets, where an endless variety of beauty depends on tinted charms alone. Revelation as distinctly tells us that the throne of God is "like unto an emerald," and "there was a rainbow round about the throne." The heavenly glory was for "*light* like unto a stone most precious, even like unto a jasper stone, clear as crystal"; the foundations of the walls "were garnished with all manner of precious stones"; the twelve gates were twelve pearls, and the streets pure gold. In every higher realm of spiritual existence, color, without regard to form, is used to express the divinest beauty.

Thus far we have considered the significance of Æsthetics and Nature, as separate terms: let us now look at their mutual embodiment and perfection in Art.

That which educates only as it disciplines, can never be an adequate substitute for that which educates while it adorns. The ideal of human life is the union of Spartan simplicity of manners with Athenian sensibility and imagination. The head, the heart and the hand should be trained together, if we would render the person pure as well as powerful. Our bodies, to be in health, must be *generally* exercised; and so our minds, if they are to maintain a salutary state, must be generally cultivated. Science represents matter, but it is the high office of art to portray the spirit. As both were essential to the complete existence of man, so the study of both is requi-

site to his full development. Art, coeval with mind, and its best commentary, is the connecting link between all grand ages, and finds beauty everywhere. Rooted in thought, and nourished by imagination, the artistic spirit reveals itself in the highest sagacity and divinest exertion of human nature. It is more godlike than science; since, while the latter discovers, art creates.

The etymology of the word used by the Greeks to express painting was the same which they employed for writing, and this renders the affinity of method and materials certain. Through the aids so provided, the eye becomes the window of the soul, lighting up the interior meaning of things; and as we throw our gaze along the mighty panorama depicted by Time, we can feel the correspondence between all matter and the divine principle whence its being is derived. Art performs the same office for the mind that speech does for the ear; as, for example, *sound* in music, *form* in sculpture, *form* and *coloring* in painting. Like religion, it despises not the feeblest intellect, while it is adapted to engross the mightiest, and is enchantingly beneficent in spreading a feast for all.

The crayon and pencil are not less potent than the pen in forming mind. Imitative art excites the eye in order to satisfy it, gives exactness to the hand by exercising it, elicits the soul but to fortify it, and thus in the alternate advance of the real and ideal, the best education is attained. The inspiring essence of graphic study is a kind of alchemy, which enables the devotee to convert material and artificial forms into golden visions of thought and feeling. The human soul is best impelled by love, and most exalted by adoration. In proportion as we elevate an object by attempting to depict its latent worth, we are ourselves raised to a higher capacity, and imbibe a diviner inspiration. We cannot scrutinize a blossom without improving our sense of beauty, nor be influenced by a color without a kindred change in our affections. As we become intellectually acquainted with natural beauty, we acquire a corresponding clearness of spirit—that serenity of heart unknown to ignorance, and which renders the humble student most familiar with the mind of God.

We believe that knowledge should be pleasure as well as power, and gratefully do we recognize the law of Providence by virtue of which the highest luxuries are made available to the widest ranks. No intellect is so humble that beauty may not creep into it, if only through a bird's song, the charms of a landscape, or the splendors of a setting sun. Early culture in drawing tends to refine all ordinary and useful things into objects of elegance, and thus the utensils of our toil, and the common objects we observe, become elaborated into enjoyments thrilling and profound. We cannot expect pupils in the lower forms, at the beginning, to partake of the aspirations vouchsafed to veteran artists ; but if they cannot at once reach the cloud-capped pinnacle of the Alps, they should be told that there are beauties in the flowery meadows which may be easily procured and peacefully enjoyed.

God derives from inanimate things and gives to all our favored race the three leading delights of a noble existence, as pure as they are lasting, books, pictures, and the varied features of nature. Beautiful art may be regarded as the last remaining emblem of the divine on earth, and as the only material palladium of the higher, inward life. The bases of the arts touch each other, and all their principles are one. Beauty first gives life to science, and then through her influence consummates all the attractions of literature and art ; the latter of which is a prolific fountain of ennobling knowledge to youth, a strengthener of wholesome emotions in adults, a pure and satisfying banquet to all.

It is our conviction that, as art in general should be rendered tributary to the young, so should painting, in particular, lend its fascination to refine the taste, kindle the enthusiasm, and adorn the reason of mature minds. "Art is but nature better understood," and a knowledge thereof, limited or comprehensive, is always and in exact proportion its own exceeding great reward. It is a grand point gained, when we can make our diversions susceptible of high feelings, enjoyments which render their possessor at once happier in retirement, and more serviceable to the public good. Truthful and earnest worship of the beautiful, either in nature or in art, never ener-

vates by rendering the mind less humane, on the one hand, or less brave on the other. To cultivate intellectual beauty, is to find a far higher and more enduring gratification than is afforded by the more common forms of sensual indulgence. The embodiments of excellence around us are infinitely diversified, and each one is the source of inexhaustible delight to the critical observer. As the smallest star is a more attractive and sublime object to him who reads its true meaning, than is the sun itself to a listless gazer upon its splendid orb, so the symmetry and adornments of the tiny daisy is to the artistic admirer something more rich and ennobling than all the dazzling inanities of ostentatious saloons.

Art is the mediatrix between nature and mankind. It is the power of humanizing the external creation, by infusing thought and emotion into everything which is the object of contemplation. Color, form, motion, sound, are the elements which mind combines and stamps into unity through the mould of moral ideas. We come best to appreciate that religion which exhibits the beauty of holiness, when we are most imbued with the holiness of beauty.

The Graces rocked the cradle of art. Admiration taught her to speak, and painting was her most phonetic idiom. A legend not unworthy of belief, tells us that a Corinthian maid, by means of a secret lamp, traced the shadow of her departing lover, and thus outlined portrait was formed. As Love made the first essay in this department, so he has never ceased to guide the hands which have beautified every age. An educating force is latent in exquisite art, like fire in crystal, which, however brilliant when excited, habitually rests serene, and robs not its abode of either purity or strength.

Instead of being confined to public edifices and the wealthy classes, decorous taste once penetrated the humblest households, and employed common materials. Then painting formed a portion of marriage dowries, and bridal effects were conveyed in chests adorned to the utmost capacity of contemporary skill. With broader and higher views than any former age has known, let us seek to endow the young with that opulence of head and heart which infinitely exceeds all material wealth.



Nature gave to man, as her moiety of humanity, knowledge ; but to woman, a more celestial capability in the all absorbing principle of love. She was originally fashioned with the finest affinity for all beautiful things ; and when fostered in the exercise of native capacities, females are not less skilful to create than sagacious to admire. Angelica Kaufman, Madame Le Brun, and Rosa Bonheur, are only just exponents of what the gentler sex can do, as is brilliantly demonstrated by the associations of female artists at present existing in Paris, London, and New-York.

The æsthetic sentiment is happily refined and extended in our day, as is indicated by the growing number and excellence of art-collections, both public and private. Of such we have at present very little to say ; only every specimen should be of the highest worth in subject, material and style. An original sketch of a dog's foot, however rough, if honest, is more profitable than the most elaborate copy of a saint's head. Whatever develops and refines native powers through their own use, is vastly nobler and more valuable than the largest accumulation of artificial imitations from abroad.

Æsthetical study is worthy of all the patronage it can possibly receive, as those who are thereby taught how to revere nature through emulative art, will be less inclined to mutilate the beautiful or scoff at the sublime. Higher aims and nobler purposes will characterize those who cultivate elegance based on erudition ; instead of grovelling in error and doubt, they will be most likely to struggle towards the Divinity whose enhancing grandeur they have learned to recognize and admire. The universe is but an infinite series of graphic glories, given as daily food to him who has eyes to see, ears to hear, a heart to feel, and a hand to record them. The light of art, like that of day, shines on all alike, and its advantage, like that of the sun, is in being seen and felt. It is the "balm of hurt minds, great nature's second course, chief nourisher in life's feast."

## ARTICLE V.—INTRODUCTION TO THE EPISTLE OF JUDE.\*

## I.—OCCASION, OBJECT, AND READERS OF THE EPISTLE.

THE author of the Epistle tells us plainly, in verses 3 and 4, what were the motives which led him to write, namely, the appearance of certain ungodly men who had crept in among his readers: "Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation, it was needful for me to write unto you and exhort you that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints. For there are certain men crept in unawares, who were before of old ordained to this condemnation, ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ." The author's object, then, is a practical one; it is to fortify the minds of his readers against the seductions of these ungodly men. It appears that the latter had not as yet led away any one; but their example might be dangerous to Christians, and this leads Jude to advise them to keep a strict watch upon themselves, not to forsake the faith which had been committed to them, and earnestly to contend against these seducers.

To operate effectively upon their minds, he declares that the condemnation of perverse men, whose seductions he desires them to flee, and which he describes in passing, is written long since (v. 4), and that, as God punished the unbelieving Israelites (v. 5), the rebel angels (v. 6), the wicked cities Sodom and Gomorrha (v. 7), the murderer Cain, the covetous Balaam, and the rebellious Core (v. 11), He would in their turn punish them.

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\* Translated from the French of Eugene Arnaud. See *Christian Review*, vol. xxii, pp. 331, 351 and 481—507.

Let us now endeavor to determine the character of these ungodly men to whom our Epistle alludes. We reject, almost without examination, the opinion of Grotius, Beausobre, and Lenfant,\* Michaelis, Hänlein (?), and Glaire, who think that Jude attacked one or more particular sects, such as the Simonians, the Nicolaitans, the Cainites, the Carpocratians, the Valentinians, the Marcionites, etc., sects which are embraced under the general name of Gnostics. The critics who favor this opinion base it upon a mere conjecture, and have probably only reproduced an old theory originated by Clement of Alexandria (Stromota, l. III.), Athanasius (Synopsis), Epiphanius (Hæresies XXVI.), and Æcumenius (Com. on v. 4), a very improbable theory, considering that all these sects were unknown at the time when Jude wrote (see below, p. 9), and that the data furnished by the Epistle leads only to its rejection.

Other critics (Eichhorn, Schmid,† Bertholdt, Hänlein, Schneckenburger,‡ Schott, Neudecker) are not precise as to these ungodly men, but think they are proud and corrupt *teachers* of falsehood, who systematically reject the authority of Jesus. But we think that these critics still go too far; that an examination of the character which Jude assigns to these men will show them to be simply men who have given themselves up to every species of wickedness, and not persons imbued with false doctrine, uniting practice with theory. Thus the ungodly,

1. Addicted themselves to all sorts of dissolute passions: Verse 4: "Turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness." Verse 8: "These filthy dreamers defile the flesh." Verse 10: "What they know naturally, as brute beasts, in those things they corrupt themselves." Verse 12: "These are spots in your feasts of charity, when they feast with you, feeding themselves without fear." Verse 16: "Walking after their own lusts." Verse 18: "Who should walk after their own

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\* Le Nouveau-Testament avec des notes litterales. Laus., 1736.

† Observat. sup. ep. Judæ. Leips., 1768.

‡ Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament und zur Erklärung seiner schwierigen Stellen. Stuttg., 1832.

ungodly lusts." Verse 19: "Sensual, having not the spirit."

2. Acknowledging no law: Verse 4; "Denying the only Lord God and our Lord Jesus Christ." Verse 8: "Despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities." Verse 11: "Perished in the gainsaying of Core." Verse 16: "Their mouth speaketh great swelling words."

3. Calumniators: "Verse 10: "These speak evil of those things which they know not." Verse 15: "Of all their hard *speeches* which ungodly sinners have spoken against Him." Verse 18: "There should be mockers in the last time."

4. Self-seeking flatterers: Verse 11: "Ran greedily after the error of Balaam, for reward." Verse 16: "Having men's persons in admiration because of advantage."

5. Malcontents: Verse 16: "These are murmurers, complainers."

In this description of the character of Jude's adversaries, there is nothing which justifies the epithet of *false teachers*, given them by the critics cited above. If these men denied the Lord Jesus (v. 4), it was not in doctrine, but in conduct; it was not by denying the Messiahship of Jesus, but by acting in opposition to his precepts; for not to obey Christ is to deny Him. Moreover, if these men had openly ignored the authority of Jesus, the Apostle would not have spoken of them as assisting in the love-feasts of Christians (v. 12). We think, then, and on this point we are sustained by the pertinent observations of Mayerhoff; we think, I say, that Jude refers, not to false teachers, but to irreligious and sensual men. This opinion seems to us in itself more probable than the preceding, because it is well known that at this period there were already a class of persons who abused their Christian liberty, and who, freed from the yoke of the ceremonial law, felt themselves at liberty to disregard all other laws, and even their own consciences.

Jachmann, Mayerhoff, Guericke, Reuss,\* and De Wette agree with us that Jude's Epistle is aimed only at irreligious and immoral men. "It is erroneous," says the last named, "to

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\* Die Geschichte der heil. Schr. N. T., Hal., 1842; § cxv.



suppose in general, on the authority of II. Peter, that these are false teachers. . . . It appears that among his readers there was an ungodly class, voluptuous, schismatics, vicious, dishonoring the Holy Supper by their intemperance."

READERS.—Although our Epistle bears a very vague address, being directed "to them that are sanctified by God the Father, and preserved in Christ Jesus, and called," that is, to all Christians, nevertheless its contents, bearing visible marks of Judaism, have led critics generally to think that it was made for Jewish-Christians. In fact, Jude adduces his proofs in a manner peculiar to Jews. Throughout he employs their forms of speech and modes of expression; he uses the images and comparisons, makes the allusions, and quotes the traditions, myths, and examples with which they were familiar. Hence, the opinion is commonly received that the Epistle is addressed to Jewish Christians.

A second fact, no less evident, is that our Epistle did not perform the part of a catholic or circular letter; it must have been designed for a particular circle of Christians, for a special locality; for undoubtedly the particular disorders which the author designates did not infest all the churches then established. We ought, therefore, to consider it addressed to some country where certain dangers of a special nature rendered these exhortations and encouragements useful, and even needful (*ἀνάγκη ἐσχον*, v. 3). So think Bertholdt, Schott, Neudecker, Guericke, and De Wette, who says, among other things: "The letter is addressed to Christians in general, but the author has his mind upon a certain circle into which have crept a baleful and dangerous class of persons."

Still, though we may be agreed upon the character and readers of the letter, we are not respecting the place where the latter resided, for the reason that neither history nor the Epistle itself furnish us any data on this point.

Herder and Hasse\* think that Jude addressed his Epistle to those Jews who, after the Babylonian exile, dwelt in Persia and the adjacent provinces, and they base this judgment on

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\* Der Brief Judä, übersetzt und erläutert. Jena, 1786.

the Latin tradition, which makes our author the Apostle of the Persians (see p. 86), and on the similarities in doctrine which they think they perceive between our Epistle and the Zend Avesta. But all the statements, doctrines, and expressions which these critics allege to have been drawn from the doctrines of Zoroaster, may be accounted for an hundred fold better by reference to the Old Testament and Jewish traditions than by the Persian code; hence, this argument is not valid. And, moreover, how can it be believed that Jude would write a letter in Greek to a people who dwelt where this language was unknown?

Schott believes that the churches to which Jude sent his Epistle are those of Asia Minor or Achaia, probably from the fact—for he does not say why—that the city of Corinth did not so readily divest itself of the impure elements against which Paul so strongly contended in former time. But Bertholdt objects, not without reason, that the evil could not yet have acquired so odious a character as Jude describes.

Grashof\* and Hug think that our Epistle was addressed to the same churches with the II Epistle of Peter, which they believe to have been those of Asia Minor. Bertholdt, Eichhorn, Semler,† Scharling, and Schneckenburger especially, likewise incline to Asia Minor. The latter thinks that the impiety referred to in v. 8, which consists in blaspheming angels (δόξας δὲ βλασφημοῦσιν), grew out of an opposite extreme, *i. e.*, the adoration which certain men paid to them, which Paul opposed in his Epistle to the Colossians,‡ and that the species of asceticism which characterized the latter in their habits of life had thrown the adversaries of Jude into another extreme, *i. e.*, of a disorderly life. Hence he concludes that these latter would be found in the same locality with Paul's readers, *viz.*, in Asia Minor.

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\* Die Briefe des Jacobus, Petrus, Johannes und Judas, übersetzt und erklärt. Essen, 1830.

† Paraphr. in epist. 2 Petr, et Jud. Halle, 1784.

‡ "Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility, and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind."

But some reply to Schneckenburger by saying that the sense of the word *δόξας*, in v. 8, is very doubtful, and that very few critics believe that it can be properly translated "angels;" and even admitting this, that it is still less likely that a theoretical contempt for angels, accompanied by a disorderly life, should have resulted from such causes as this critic assigns. In fact, they are causes which would operate just as well in Palestine, for example, as in Asia Minor.

Although we have rejected the preceding opinions, we do not propose to hold ourselves, like Michaëlis, De Wette,\* and Guericke, in a position of non-committal. We adopt the view of Schmid, Credner, and Augusti, that Jude addressed his letter to the churches of Palestine.

A little while after the death of James, Bishop of Jerusalem (62 or 63 A. D.), the country was inhabited by a people so seditious, immoral, and blasphemous as to become eventually the ruin of the city. Palestine and vicinity, therefore, is the place which seems most nearly to meet the conditions of our Epistle. This will be more probable if we admit, according to v. 17, that the readers had had personal and, perhaps, frequent intercourse with the Apostles, and, according to the account of Hegesippus, that our author did not leave Palestine once during his life.

## II.—DATE OF THE EPISTLE, AND PLACE OF ITS COMPOSITION.

The data which the epistle furnishes respecting the time of its production, are very vague. Thus v. 17: "Remember ye the words which were spoken before of the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ,"—simply indicates that some time had already elapsed since the Apostles had spoken to the readers of Jude, since he judged it necessary to recall their words. Does Jude do this because they were dead, or merely absent? We are unable to decide.

The words *ἐν ἐσχάτῳ χρόνῳ* of verse 18, which seem at

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\* In his introduction he affirms nothing; but in his *Kurze Erklärung* of the epistle of Jude, which appeared at Leipsic in 1847, he says that the epistle is addressed to a church in a commercial town of Syria.

first sight to determine the period, are in themselves indefinite. For they might refer to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, or of the first advent of the Messiah, according to the Old Testament prophecies (Isaiah ii : 2, Micah iv : 1, Joel ii : 28, 29, comp. with Acts ii : 17, Hebrews i : 1, 2, etc.), or better still, to the new and second coming of Christ. The latter and more probable interpretation leaves the precise period wholly indeterminate.

Nevertheless, though it may be impossible to ascertain exactly, we may yet approximate to the time of the epistle's composition. Thus, it is almost certain that it was written before the taking of Jerusalem, for the following reasons :

In verses 18 and 19, Jude represents his hearers as disciples of the Apostles. He is, therefore, addressing men of a generation contemporary with or immediately succeeding that of the first disciples of Jesus, which would not suffer us to go much beyond the year 70. And if we may believe Hegesippus (Euseb. Eccl. Hist. book III, ch. xx), our author was not living under the reign of Domitian in the years 81-96. Baronius indeed, in his annals, reports the martyrdom of Jude in the year 68 A. D.

In the second place, the use which we shall shew that the author of II Peter makes of our Epistle, is a reason why we should not adopt a later date.

A final reason which makes it evident that our Epistle was written before the taking of Jerusalem, is that our author, while he relies upon the principal examples of God's retributive justice respecting sinners, to prove that the ungodly among them will assuredly receive punishment, and cites examples from Jewish history and tradition, makes no allusion to the most signal of these examples, the destruction of Jerusalem — an example the more striking from the fact that Jesus had predicted it. We believe that our Epistle was written before the year 70. It is useless to attempt to determine the precise year. The following critics adopt this view : Eichhorn, Schmid, Bertholdt, Michaels, Hänlein, Grashoff, Jachmann, Schott, De Wette, Neudecker, Guericke, Scharling, etc.



Critics are found nevertheless, especially among the older writers, like Beausobre and Lenfant,\* Dodwell and Cave, Mill and Hartmann,† who think that the Epistle was written after the taking of Jerusalem.‡ We should not stop to examine an opinion generally relinquished, if it had not lately found an echo in Credner's§ introduction. Let us carefully weigh his reasons. He maintains his views by seven arguments, which we will not undertake to discuss seriatim. We shall confine ourselves to the examination of those which appear most weighty. Those which we omit are so improbable as to refute themselves.

1. "It appears, he says, according to verse 17, that no apostle was found among his readers." Hence he concludes that the Epistle must have been written very late. But this verse might allude to the absence of the Apostles, and not to their death. We know in fact that they did not tarry long in one place, at least that they would not choose it for a centre of operation. Besides, the words "remember ye" cannot allude to a very remote period. The author shows by them that he is addressing men who lived in the times of the Apostles, who had listened to their instructions, and that he himself was their contemporary.¶ And even though verse 17 should imply the death of the Apostles whose preaching is alluded to, its contents may have been as strictly true in the year 68 or 69 as in 80, considering that Jude is not speaking of all the Apostles, but of them only who had preached to his readers.

2. Credner says again, in support of his opinion that "the word *ἐλεος* ('mercy'), found in the salutation (v. 2), indicates a time subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem," because it is found in II John, v. 3, I Tim., i: 2, II Tim., i: 2, Titus, i: 4, Epistles which he believes to have been written

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\* Le Nouv. Test av. notes et prolég. Amst., 1736.

† Commentatio in epist. Judæ Cathen, 1793.

‡ Beausobre and Lenfant' assign it to the year 70 or 75. Dodwell and Cave to 71 or 72, and Mill to the year 90.

§ Einleit. in das. N. T. Halle, 1836.

¶ See what we have said upon verse 17 in our discussion of the authorship of the epistle in the July number of this Review for 1858, pp. 342, 345.

after the destruction of that city; "as if," says Guericke, "there had never been any reason before this for invoking mercy upon any one."

3. "Perhaps the citation of Enoch may conduct us to the time which followed the destruction of Jerusalem. Lücke\* thinks that this book was not written until after the year 71."

The book of Enoch, as we shall see further on,† is obviously composed of fragments of different periods. Lücke's opinion therefore, if it were correct as to the latter part of the book, would not apply in this case, as the passage cited by Jude is found at the very commencement, at chapter ii; and in the judgment of Laurence and Hoffman, who have studied the work with care, the first part, which contains the fall of the angels, is at least contemporary with the first years of the book of Herod.

4. "It clearly follows from one statement of Hegesippus (Eusebius, book III, ch. xxxii, book IV, ch. xxii), that the composition of the Epistle should be ascribed to the time when Simeon, son of Clopas, appeared at the head of Jewish Christians in Palestine."

But this argument is completely destitute of foundation. It rests upon a *petitio principii*, taking for granted the thing to be proved, namely, that the passage in Eusebius (book III, ch. xxxii), furnishes information respecting the time of composition of Jude's Epistle, whereas it does nothing of the kind.

But perhaps Credner, whose thoughts we must sometimes divine, meant to speak of the schisms which, according to Hegesippus, originated in Judea at this time, and which the Epistle of Jude seems to have attacked, because he did in fact address a class who led a disorderly life. In this case, the argument is no more felicitous. Nothing in the Epistle makes allusion to emergencies which, according to Credner, would render it necessary. Jude said nothing of sects and

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\* Comm. über die Schriften des Evang. Joh.; vierter Th.; erst Band. Bonn, 1832. Versuch einer vollständigen Einl. in die Offenb. Joh. und der gesamt apokalypt. Literat.; Bonn, 1848.

† In a discussion of the canonical authority of the epistle, which may be presented in a subsequent number of this Review.

heresies. These evils took their rise at a later date, and, as we think we have already shown, Jude wrote merely to fortify the minds of Christians against the seductions of an ungodly and vicious class appearing at that epoch.

So much for the date of the Epistle. As to the *place* where Jude wrote, we find no trace whether in history, in the Epistle, or in its superscription. Still it is possible that it was written in the very theatre of the vices it was designed to oppose — that is to say, at Palestine, in Jerusalem. What seems to contribute to this belief, is the detailed and precise discription which is given of these sins.

### III.—STYLE OF THE EPISTLE.

The style of the Epistle of Jude is succinet, luminous and energetic. “It commends itself in general, Schott tells us, by its clearness, its brevity and its gravity.” Moreover, its language is pure, and adorned with striking points and elegant metaphors. “The Epistle, adds De Wette, is written in good Greek, and rarely presents words which are allied to the Hebrew tongue. . . . The style is a little harsh, but it evinces an accurate knowledge of the Greek language.” We find there many of the readings which are not met with in the other books of the New Testament. Still the Epistle has them in a way altogether peculiar to itself. We here give the table. We borrow from Schott, completed by Scharling :

Verse 1. ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ ἡγιασμένοις, sanctified by God the Father.

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τετηρημένοις, preserved in Jesus Christ.

3. σπουδῇν ποιούμενος, gave diligence.

ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι, to contend earnestly. .

4. παρεισέδυσαν, crept in unawares.

προγεγραμμένοι, ordained before.

7. ἐκπορνεύσασαι, giving themselves over to fornication.

πρόκεινται, are set forth.

δείγμα, example. Elsewhere in the N. T., ὑπόδειγμα.

δίκην ὑπέχειν, to stand trial.

10. φυσικῶς, naturally.

11. ἐκχεῖσθαι, to give one's self up to.

12. σπιλᾶδες, rocks, breakers.

ποιμαίνειν ἑαυτούς, to feed themselves.

φθινοπωρινά, autumnal.

13. ἄγρια, raging.  
ἐπαφρίζειν, to foam out.  
ἀστέρες πλανῆται, wandering stars.
15. ἐξελέγχειν, to convict.
16. γογγυσταὶ, murmurs.  
μεμψίμοιροι, complaint.  
θανυμάζειν πρόσωπα, to admire appearances.
19. ἀποδορίζειν, to separate one's self.
20. ἁγιωτάτη, most holy.
24. ἀπταιστοί, not falling.

Bertholdt (p. 3194) and Schmid\* (p. 314), (and they are the only ones beside Schott) have contended that the original language of the Epistle was not Greek; that, primitively, the letter was written in Aramean, and afterwards translated into Greek. But that no good reason can be offered for this hypothesis we may judge by the two which Schmid gives.

1. "If Jude wrote after the death of his brethren to oppose the disorders of all kinds which disturbed Palestine, we should suppose that he would employ the dialect of the country." Luther† adds: "the Apostle is not come to a country where Greek is spoken, which explains why it is said that he did not write in Greek."

But because the Greek was not the language of the country, does it follow that it was not known and not often used there? All the data we possess on this question, go to prove the contrary, as may be seen by the authorities which De Wette cites (p. 2), the intimations of Josephus,‡ the demonstrations of Hug (Vol. II, 310), and of Credner,§ and finally, the existence of a Greek synagogue at Jerusalem (Acts vi: 9). Besides, we may make the same objection to Paul, who wrote in Greek to readers dwelling where, for the most part, this was not the language of the people.

2. Schmid adds, that perhaps "Jude was not in a condition to compose an epistle in so good Greek, considering

\* Histor. krit. Einleit. ins N. T. Giessen, 1804. N. T. it., 1818.

† Zween Epist. Petr. und eine Judæ ausgel. Wittemb., 1524. Ennarat. in epp. D. Petr. duas et Jud. unam. Argentor., 1534.

‡ Antiq., book XVII, ch. II. Jewish Wars, book III, ch. IX; book II, ch. XIV.

§ Beiträge zur Einleitung in die bibl. Schriften, Halle, 1838; t. I, p. 374, etc.



that he had never left Palestine." This suggestion must have been a hasty one, for we cannot see what right one has to deny to Jude the capacity to know Greek, and to have written a letter in that tongue, merely because according to Hegesippus he had never left his own country. Besides, there is in the Epistle no indication that it is a translation from the Aramean, and so true is this, that Schott, who agrees with Schmid without assigning his reasons, is obliged to admit that "the translator, whoever he may have been, did not translate Aramean of the original literally into Greek."

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#### ARTICLE VI.—CHRISTIANITY AND WAR.

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We all know that the Gospel is designed to produce peace on earth and good will toward men, to teach men to love their enemies and do good to those who injure them; and hence many of the best and holiest shrink from all war and fighting as something essentially and always wicked.

We know, too, that the Gospel teaches us how to prosper through peace, so that in proportion as nations observe its maxims, they become quietly but surely filled with abundance and with success. But there is a general feeling that religion will stand rather in the way of all warlike enterprises, and at least that it does not condescend to give us any of those principles which shall conduct us, individually or collectively, to success through military achievement. Yet, true religion is essentially the same in all ages, and the Old Testament and the New are equally written for our learning. And David at least, when God had given him peace from all his enemies round about, testified, that he had not only never forsaken his religion in the war that made him king, but that it had been the most effectual cause of his triumphs. His religion it was, that made him the most powerful of enemies, as well as the

most prosperous and potent of friends. It taught him how to fight, and made him first in war as well as first in peace. "He teacheth my hands to war, so that a bow of steel is broken by my arm."

It is a bad omen for any cause, when it requires the use of means repugnant to the consciences of those who are carrying it on; and therefore it is important sometimes for us to be reminded, that as Christians the Old Testament is ours as well as the New. We therefore desire to show in the following pages, how it is that the same religion of forbearance and good will to men, which will prevent unjust, wicked, and vindictive wars, will also on such occasions as those which now try the strength of our Constitution and the energies of our Government, make us as strong and finally successful, if needs be through war itself, as ordinarily it will make us as a nation happy and prosperous in peace.

We have all as Christians seen the authority of religion so often and so shamefully prostituted in favor of wholesale murder under the name of war, that some have come to consider it a thing in which no good Christian man can consistently take part; a wholesale and necessary source of demoralization and crime, instead of being as it is, when God sends it, a means of grace and of national renovation; a solemn duty in which usually only the best Christians and most trustworthy men should be commissioned to hold the sword. We are even now afraid to disturb the general sentiment, lest we should seem to justify wars of *policy* and of defiance, or efforts to seize by force all a nation's supposed and extreme rights. We do not wish to underrate the terrible moral responsibilities of war. To aim deliberately at the life of a fellow man, and to see him drop heavily—a corpse, the white wreath of smoke curl away and with it the spirit of a fellow being gone to its last account, all unprepared; to repeat this hour after hour, and day after day, this is war. To take the responsibility of such an act as this, even in a single case, without the authority of the great Giver of Life, is murder; and there is much truth in the old saying: "One murder makes a villain, millions a hero." We will go further, and concede that the great object

for which civil government is founded and commissioned of God, is not to declare it right to commit by wholesale, acts which would be horrible in the individual. Government is instituted to prevent these things—to keep peace and not to make war. It is for this cause and for this very end that God has clothed civil government and its agents, civil and military, with a *divine authority* in special cases, to do that in self defence which belongs not ordinarily to individuals; an authority which extends to the life of the few only that it may save the lives of the many from horrors worse than those of war, worse than those of death—the horrors of confusion and anarchy. Without this protective power, all the families of the state would be left in times like these destitute of any government strong enough to defend them against wrongs the most frightful; one half the citizens might have their swords at the throats of the most industrious and virtuous other half.

In a life of more than forty years, we have seen but one occasion before the present, which seemed clearly to justify a war; and we hope, the present fairly met, never to see another. In that former case God raised up a Havelock at Cawnpore to protect women and children, and peaceful citizens from the exterminating horrors of heathen cruelties and lust. There, we suppose, a Christian could fight to restore civil government even though it was a most imperfect government, while most of the wars which have desolated Europe have been those of ambition, of aggrandizement, or of policy—wholesale murders.

The present condition of things in our own country, is one of those rare cases in which we shall be in less danger of fostering the spirit of war by saying boldly and unequivocally, that the whole history of the world hardly presents so clear a case, in which it was not only proper, but the duty of each and of every good citizen to support constitutional government by every means of men and of credit, and of hearty coöperation with its divinely *authorized power*, and the duty to protect the homes and firesides of Union-loving men from one of the most wicked conspiracies that history records; one carried on so far by such a wholesale prostitution of the most

solemn oaths. That of Cataline was nothing to it in enormity. To wrest their weapons from the hands of conspirators, and to subdue them so that they may have *no power* to molest the mildest and best form of government ever instituted among men—this is a work in which to be indifferent were to be sinful. Our government exists by every rightful authority, without force and without fraud, real or even pretended. Take it away and what have we, any of us, left on earth, but to be slaves to the force and fraud of wicked men, who openly repudiate the most just and moral obligations, pecuniary and social? What have we before us but anarchy, confusion, bloodshed, and poverty without end? You may call it war, but to uphold the Government is really the only method left us in God's providence of keeping the peace. It is for just such occasions as these, that God has instituted government at all, and Christianity even more clearly than Judaism, commands that the Magistrate shall not bear the *sword* in vain, but shall be a terror to evil doers as well as a praise to them that do well.

Now, what we assert is, that when such exigencies as these do arise in the history of a nation, all those principles which have made them peacefully prosperous at other times, will now render them strong, and thoroughly prepared to be successful and majestic in the support of right, though it be by means of war; better prepared than they could have been by the training of immense standing armies.

If we look then at all the great laws which give to nations the sources of their strength, ready for instant development, we shall see at once that true religion must and does directly confer them; we shall see also some of the ways in which God teaches such nations how to war through the religion that elevates them while it concentrates their energies simply on the arts of peace.

A nation that seeks prosperity only by just and equal laws, which protect the poor from the oppressions and contempt of the rich, and one class from preying upon another, *will draw population* from all parts of the globe, and that, too, of the most industrious, intelligent and moral classes; while those states



whose laws favor wealth gotten only out of the toils of others, will *rather repel* the most valuable, productive, and energetic citizens, and seek for laborers and even mechanics only from those so ignorant and debased as to be docile while robbed of the proceeds of their labor, in fact slaves. Free white laborers will be esteemed hostile to the genius of their civilization.

It is by the simple operation of this law that population has multiplied so rapidly in the Northern States as compared with the Southern. Those States now holding slaves (including of course Louisiana) had in 1790, a considerably larger population than those now free. Things are now so reversed that there are about nineteen millions in the North to less than twelve and a half in the South ; and of free whites to furnish armies, the former have more than eighteen millions, while the Slave States have but eight. These humane principles were sought out and adopted, not from policy, but as a part of that religion of the Prince of Peace, which led our early statesmen (as A. H. Stephens has shown) to consider slavery "morally wrong."

But these principles alone, have, without our thinking of it, or knowing what the result might be, made the North strong for war, and able, we would yet hope, so to overwhelm all wicked and treasonable schemes, with overpowering numbers, as to put down rebellion by the calm majesty and imposing front of soldiers, legally called out to preserve the peace, without a protracted warfare.

But it is the opulence of a country that must more, even than population, determine its power ultimately in war, and the same causes that have tended to produce such a disparity of numbers, have operated equally in regard to wealth. In 1850, the total value of property in the United States, being represented by 70, the Northern States would own 44, the Southern 26. But, omit the fictitious valuation of the negroes, (and we might as well estimate the value of each Northern laborer and add it), and the taxable wealth of the South would be comparatively nothing. Thus the average value of each Northern farm is \$19.00 per acre, when that of each farm in the slaveholding States is but \$6.09 ; and the total capital em-

ployed in manufactures in 1850, was \$467,000,000 in the North to \$87,000,000 in the South.

Of all the developments of wealth, the most modern are the most directly important for war purposes—railroads and telegraphs. These enable intelligence to be spread throughout the land, and troops to be concentrated with unheard of rapidity. They make invasion difficult, the repulsion of it easy. But these works have all been constructed with us, not for war, but for the peaceful pursuits of commerce. They grew out of the wealth of honest industry and intelligence. In the North there were, in 1854, 127 miles of railroad in operation to every 46 in the South. Owing to the greater concentration of Northern population, they give the Government now from seven to ten times the power of collecting forces for warlike purposes, which they confer on the South.

Our ships and steamers, again—all the effects of peaceful commerce—are now easily turned into blockading squadrons, and they convey troops and stores, and shut up the ports of the South.

Thus, in all outward and tangible things, the religion and principles of peace quietly prepare a nation for war, and even in all the excellence of our mechanical arrangements, and the skill which peace engenders, the Most High has been for half a century teaching our hands to war, far more effectually than had we kept a large standing army in the field, daily practising with rifles and bayonets, and exhausting the wealth of the nation.

We know that these advantages may exist and a people be too effeminate to use them. Lord Bacon has somewhere remarked that in the beginnings of a nation's greatness, arms prevail, then arms and arts for a little season, and finally, arts without arms in its decline. But this is owing to arts producing wealth, and wealth luxury, and luxury irreligion of all kinds, as we shall see.

And so, again, the consciousness of deserving calamity often makes the bad more watchful against danger than the good, and ready to strike the first blow while the innocent sleep in ill-timed security or indolence, until they wake too late to their

folly. It was thus that the haughty Normans at Hastings overcame in one battle, the unaroused Saxons, and eight hundred years have not wiped out the effects of a single blow. But even these seeming exceptions end in making goodness stronger and more vigilant.

It is not religion, then, but the want of religion, that makes nations weak in war. Alison in his history of the First French Revolution (vol. iv, chap. 78, p. 566, Harper), shows that the fundamental causes of war among men, are the corruption, the profligacy, the luxury, the lying, deception and utter selfishness of all kinds, and the thirst for wealth, that spring up too often in peace and plenty. When these things arise to a certain height and extent of corruption, even war becomes the less evil of the two. And God lets war come, to produce, through danger, courage and reliance on the Divine blessing for every thing. These truly religious feelings, when earnestly excited, give rise to a degree of sublime disinterestedness in place of selfishness, and to manly energy instead of effeminate ease and luxury; a preference for right amid suffering, and truth and honor amid peril, more valuable to mankind than all the blood and treasure which war costs. In fact, the only way for a nation long to avoid war is to avoid the *corruptions*, the selfishness and the deceptions that cause it, and which, where they exist, ever have led, and ever will lead, to conflicts in which they or the nations having them must and will be exterminated. *Corruption leads to more defeats* in war than cowardice. It makes cowards. A cheating commissariat, or a shabby uniform, will demoralize a regiment more than a charge of cavalry.

There is no doubt but that we as a people have been prospering in riches until we have come to trust in them, and make them an idol; hence all sorts of fraud and lying, and the sacrifice of every manly principle, have been often used to obtain them. This has been really one of the greatest causes of the present war. For the sake of retaining the trade of the South, Northern merchants have truckled to Southern slavery and sold their consciences for gold; even sold arms and ammunition now to be used against ourselves. They have trusted to lying

words to patch up a peace, and to cajole into quiet and confidence. The South has complained, that they could make any compromise they pleased in words, but that the North would not keep it, and was not to be trusted.

This sort of deception has been much more grievously carried on by politicians at the South than even by those at the North, for they have been plotting for places of power, to purloin the Government arms under false oaths of supporting the Constitution, and to betray us all, bound hand and foot, into the hands of the Philistines, like Samson sleeping on the lap of Delilah. And the North has lain there and slept, and awakes to find herself shorn of her strength.

The South has at least been honest in one thing—she has avowedly made Slavery the end and aim of all she has done. But the North has been in part deceived, also in part, from interested motives, deceiving.

Now, the habits of lying and treachery, of trying either to steal or please by diplomacy, is the first great source of weakness, and therefore of war, among nations always ; and it has been so here. A nation where double-meaning compacts rule in Senate chambers, or are permitted in high places, is *like a rope of sand—it has no coherence*. It will not stick together. Every man will utterly supplant and deceive his neighbor. There must be more *simple truth* in all the relations of life, both public and private, if we would be stronger as a nation. There has been for the last twenty years a growing tendency among politicians, and even in the private walks of life, to carry everything by “log-rolling” and deception. Bribery and corruption glide into our halls of Legislation,\*

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\* The following frank confession from one of the most widely known political managers in our country, strikingly illustrates the truth of these statements :—

“Obnoxious as the admission is, to a just sense of right, and to a better condition of political ethics, we stand so far “impeached.” We would have preferred not to disclose to public view, the financial history of political life, nor should the *Tribune* have constrained such disclosures. Public men know much of what the ‘rest of mankind’ are ignorant. We suppose it is generally understood that party organizations cost money, and that Presidential elections, especially, are expensive. Painful as the confession is, we are bound in



and they enter into the transactions of business so commonly that our strength has become weakness—our wine mixed with water. In the Church as well as in the State, our fine gold has become as dross.

With a firmer reliance than ever upon the noble and just principles of the Constitution of this country, many of our best thinkers have long expected some great scourge to drive us back to the early virtues and pure disinterestedness of former times. The crash of 1857 did much to cure corruption among our merchants; *this* crash we may hope will reach our politicians and all the people, and produce thorough repentance and reformation.

All *deception springs from cowardice*, and that is why it can never be cured except by war or some calamity calling out great courage. Men deceive to avoid some difficulty and conflict, or disagreeable circumstances which they are afraid to face. The only way to cure this disposition is to infuse more fearlessness of consequences in a righteous cause. Hence it is that God has so arranged, that luxury and all the effeminating vices that produce cowardice, shall in time and in their train *bring war*, either to exterminate the guilty ones wholly,

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truth—and from knowledge—to say that James Buchanan was elected President, and this great and then happy and glorious Republic ruined, simply because Messrs. Wendell, Forney and Belmont raised \$50,000 more money, to be expended in Pennsylvania, than Wm. A. Hall, Truman Smith, and the writer of this article, could procure for the same object. While millions of freemen exert their influence and cast their votes from patriotic influences, results are often controlled by less creditable means. Nor are the unpatriotic found alone among the ignorant and base. The wealthy and exalted are quite as ready as the low and abject, to pollute the elective franchise.

It has been our duty and task for nearly forty years, to raise money for elections. During more than half that time we did so in consultation and co-operation with Mr. Greeley. Believing that Railroads were essential to the city of New York, and that Legislative grants for them would be obtained, we conceived and attempted to carry out the idea of making those grants available, politically. We did so with Mr. Greeley's knowledge, and he did not then see the enormity of the offence. We avowed this purpose to leading political friends. Among others, to Mr. George Opdyke, with the remark that while the avowal was not for the public, we had no desire to conceal it from associates. It so happened that the avowal appeared in the next morning's *Herald*!—[*Albany Evening Journal*.]

or to regenerate them and make them bold, manly, frank and truthful—courageous to speak as they think, and do what they know they ought.

Seeing as we do now a *united* North, frank, bold and ready unselfishly to make any sacrifice, even of life, for right, and for upholding the Constitution and Government which God in his great mercy has given us, we do not believe the calamities of war will go far with us, because corruption though open is not deep and is soon cured. But they will go on till they have rooted out our corruption, or swept us away with the besom of destruction. A self-sacrificing courage, a trust in right, in truth and in the God of truth and of right and of liberty and of justice, is the only hope at this moment of saving us from all the horrors of the most horrible of civil wars for ten years to come.

To be more specific, God teaches the hands of the Christian hero to war, by making him truthful, manly, free from corruption and vice. It is thus that he puts strength into the arm of any nation or individual.

We all know that courage is the first duty of a soldier; a readiness to face danger, and to lay down life itself in the path of duty without shrinking or losing presence of mind. The panic of a few soldiers often decides the fate of a battle, and acts like a stampede in a herd.

True religion gives that courage to the heart of each individual in a just cause, that is best calculated to make him first in war if it must come, as well as first in peace while it can be preserved—a conqueror and more than conqueror through his Saviour; a praying man at home, and a praying, temperate, thoughtful, prudent, and God-fearing man on the field of battle; successful, like a wise and merciful general, in winning victories with the least possible bloodshed and disorder.

Religion secures all the elements of courage as nothing else can. It begins at the foundation, for it allows no man to engage in any except an unequivocally just and holy cause, and compels him to stop where justice stops. Such a cause, for instance, as the present, which is simply the de-

fending of our Government, our Constitution, and our republican institutions, from the encroachments of fraud, and the protecting of our homes and firesides from the violence and tyranny of men intoxicated and infatuated with the notion that they are a government.

Religion gives *preparation for death*, and so infuses courage in danger. The struggle of the Christian soldier on the field of battle, and that of the saint of God struggling on the bed of death, with the last enemy that shall be destroyed, are not essentially different things. And we may be assured it is the same religion that sustains the saint in the quiet chamber of death, that can best fit and prepare strong men quietly and faithfully to wait at their posts on the field of battle, until the master crowns them here on earth with a higher honor than that of a merely earthly victory, or calls them home to nobler service above.

Now we might take up each soldierly virtue, and show that TRUE RELIGION is best calculated to insure it to each individual, and therefore to a Christian army. It gives, for instance, temperance and self-control, and we all know it is the lack of these in any camp that kills more men than the bullets of the enemy. It gives order, and obedience, and discipline, and the *life of duty faithfully and fully executed*, for a regard to the All-seeing Eye, and a reliance on a Universal Providence produce all these. And these are just the qualities to make good soldiers, as the life of such a man as Havelock will demonstrate.

But in addition to all ordinary sources of military success, true religion seems to put men into the possession of those hidden fountains of wisdom and knowledge which lead them to the greatest victories and the most honorable achievements in war; while the consciousness of a just and righteous cause, on the other hand, stirs up at the moments of greatest exigency, the disposition to seek for that wisdom until it is found. So that a cause like the present stirs up the deep fountains of piety and prayer in the good, and makes them better men, while their prayer leads them to those hidden resources of eternal wisdom which produce the loftiest suc-

cess and render them the best of soldiers. Washington was noticed on his knees just before a critical battle.

There is nothing we have so much remarked throughout the whole of this present struggle, as the manner in which it has brought out from all those principally engaged in it, the utterance of a conviction of entire dependence upon God and his support; and of the conviction that He alone has preserved and led us safely thus far. We have all seen how it has been remarked by Major (now General) Anderson in all his conversations in Washington (where within a few months such acknowledgements were *very rare*), that it was Divine Providence and grace alone that led him to act as he did, and preserved to us all a flag and a country. No man could have better expressed this consciousness of *Divine guidance*, than did that excellent man when publicly welcomed by the City of Philadelphia, "*I have only tried to follow the thoughts that I think God put into my heart.*" In an address to a Sabbath School, his language was still more striking and unaffected.

Oh that in peace and in war the hearts of all our brave and loyal soldiers might seek more to have their thoughts and plans put into their hearts of God, and to follow those and those alone. From the very day when our President began to ask for prayers for guidance and for this nation, how marked have such prayers been answered in the improvement of our national affairs. Many of our principal officers in the army have modestly, but earnestly, avowed their sense of dependence on Divine Wisdom and power in a manner that has been most impressive, because most heartfelt and sincere. They have owned, as David, that He has taught their hands to war, and broken the bow of steel by their arms.

This is the most hopeful sign of the future success of this great nation, which the present struggle has yet disclosed — direct dependence upon God for teaching and for guidance. It was indeed much such an occasion as the present that called out David, and led him to make his acknowledgements of Divine guidance in war, recorded in Psalm xviii and II Samuel, xxii — some of the sublimest poetry of ancient or of modern



times. Taken from the sheep-fold and from watching the lambs by day and by night on the hills of his native Judea, it was his religion and his God alone that he felt had made him great in war, through the very requirements of a life at first devoted to piety and to peace. Thus the ruddy glow of health was impressed upon his cheek through temperance ; while in faithfully guarding his flocks against wild beasts and treacherous and thieving Arabs, he had acquired the hardihood and courage demanded by his time. Thus his arm was strengthened and his aim steadier and practised. And when his pious eye saw all Israel — God's chosen people — as sheep without a shepherd, and the proud Goliath gnashing like a wolf and threatening to destroy the fold of the living God, he became their shepherd, and with sling and stone the arts of peace were consecrated as arms of war, and his unerring aim brought with one blow the haughty aggressor to the ground. And when he had done so, he felt as we shall all feel when the present troubles have passed away, that God had been teaching his hand to sling that stone, by the whole peaceful discipline of his previous life. So afterwards when Saul became a tyrant and Israel was in anarchy, he protected the sheep of God, though he would not lift up his hand against the Lord's anointed, or the instituted and legal civil government of his country. But when Saul was slain and Jonathan his son, and Israel was again without a leader ; when the Philistines threatened to overrun the land, and had secured all the blacksmith's shops and arsenals of that day, so that no man could sharpen a sword or obtain a spear but by their leave, then David felt that the time had come ; he took up arms and defeated all the enemies of Israel ; he set a nation free from threatened subjection to a usurping and aggressive foe. And when God had given him rest from all his enemies round about, then the full sense of all the dangers he had passed through filled his mind, and then it was he saw that an unseen hand had held him up, and a Divine power had taught and sustained him, and he exclaimed, "He teacheth my hands to war, so that a bow of steel is broken by my arms."

This view of war may correct many false notions about

what is necessary in order *to be a good soldier*. Many noble, earnest Christians have gone to this work. Many more we hope, if necessary, will go. But let none of them think when away from home, that it is necessary to lay aside *a particle of their religion in order to be good and gallant soldiers*. Look at the life of General Havelock. Any man will succeed better as a soldier in proportion as he struggles *to live and walk with God*, amid all the duties of a camp life. He will even find this struggle just calculated to make him strong in faith and in religion, and prepared daily and equally for the duties of life and for the hour of death. And our hopes of any man who lived faithfully as a Christian and died at his post, with his face towards the foes of the Constitution of his country, would be greater than that of him dying with any canting professions out of the path of duty. There we should feel very sure he was in it. Let men only carry the cross in camp and they shall win the crown in the day of battle and death — come when and where it will.

This should encourage our prayers and our hopes for those who have gone to take part in this noble work. Let Christians pray for them, write to them, urge them to join *praying circles in the camps*, if they have never prayed before, and though they may not be professors of religion, not to be afraid or ashamed openly to seek, and, like General Anderson, own that they seek, the blessing of heaven upon the cause in which they are engaged and a Divine direction of every step they take, and of every shot they fire on the field of battle.

Even in pursuing religiously and prayerfully all the peaceful arts and walks of life, we are really every day becoming stronger for war, and for every event that can possibly happen. He who plants the fields and raises food contributes one of the greatest benefits to our national defences. He whose capital builds a railway or a telegraph for peace, contributes to make his country strong for war, by every dollar thus earned and thus expended. He who scorns and hates a lie, who buys the truth and sells it not, who in private and political life loathes corruption and hates oppression, but lives temperately and prayerfully and brings up a family virtuously

and holily before God and man, as the Christian religion will inspire — that man is a true patriot. He who prays for his country moves the arm that moves the world ; and he who by his holy life is removing, through his example, sin and wickedness, is removing also the great fundamental causes of all the wars and misery that rage among mankind.

It is thus that true Christianity teaches our hands to war and breaks the bow of steel by our arms. Indeed — and with this thought we would close — it is more through moral means than physical, that the present great battle must be fought and a victory achieved. It is more through an extra vigor and earnestness of peaceful praying, through moral and religious forces, than even through the valor of our armies, or success in the field of battle, that we must win in the present struggle.

It must be by patriotic contributions of immense sums of money, by troops better clothed and fed and cared for and disciplined ; by an orderly protection of the country where our armies are stationed and that becomes the seat of war ; by clemency to misguided men, who have been drawn by force or fraud into the ranks of the secessionists ; and above all, by the united testimony of all Christian men in the North, correcting the sentiment of the whole Christian world, where misled by art and by error, and exhibiting the true nature of this righteous conflict in all its moral and religious bearings. The *London Times* asks what we are fighting for? why cannot we allow secession to be peacefully and at once acknowledged? and it seems to us so reasonable and natural a question, that nothing would be more appropriate than that deputations should be sent from all Christian denominations in this country to their corresponding organizations throughout the Christian world, to exhibit fairly the sacredness and the necessity of the struggle in all its causes and possible consequences to the future welfare of mankind. This would do the world good by awakening its best moral and religious sympathies, and secure to us finally a moral victory that shall render prolonged war and much bloodshed unnecessary and impossible.

What may be the issue of the present struggle on the field of battle, we cannot certainly know. But as to the final moral

result, if we at the North remain but true to Christianity, and therefore to each other, without party bickerings and without corruption — true as the great heart of the people now *is true*, and in the path of duty, no one can doubt. We shall be made better and not worse by all this strife. Let us only pray that it may be as bloodless a victory as may be.

There is a passage of Scripture — spoken indeed of all the triumphs of Christianity — but so applicable to this great contest between Christianity and haughtiness and oppression, that we cannot forbear alluding to it in its true sense before we close. “Every battle of the warrior is with confused noise and garments rolled in blood, but this shall be with burning and fuel of fire.” The meaning of the passage is not that Christianity shall engender more bloody strifes, but that as in all ordinary battles there is first a long, doubtful and bloody struggle, and then at the end the victorious party gathers together the chariots and spears of the enemy and offers them up in a blazing pile, a token of victory on the field of strife, so on the contrary, in the conflicts which Christianity inspires\* the end shall be the beginning. It shall be a triumph of holy principles over unholy, and the battle shall be a *moral* one fought and conquered in the hearts of rebels, and without the long and bloody doubt and suspense of physical contests. The battles of faith and holiness are “victories” morally certain from the very commencement of the strife. They are a going forth, conquering and to conquer from first to last — an offering up of sacrifice to the God of victory — without any of the confused noise and garments rolled in blood going before.

So had we hoped for months that the war now apparently approaching one of the bloodiest of battles, would quietly end in the peaceful and bloodless supremacy of law and rightful authority. It seemed as if the simple majesty of a well-sustained government, whose innumerable blessings in the past were a guarantee of its stability and beneficence in the future,

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\* See Lowth's Isaiah, Note on ix : 4. Also comp. Ps., xli : 9. Jos., ix : 6. Ezek., xxxviii : 8-10.



would appeal to the sober reason of the South, and that the truth and justice that are on the side of the North, would take hold of the religious conscience of her population, and so silently win her back to her allegiance and duties. And even now we cannot but believe, that the greatest victory yet to be won on the side of the Union, will be by the "fuel" of argument, and by the "burning" of conviction. Indeed, that such a victory will sooner or later come, is as certain as that truth must at last prevail. Its coming may be delayed till the genius of war, with confused noise and garments of blood, has prepared a highway for its entrance. It may be the last, but it will be the most permanent of our victories; one whose achievement and blessings shall furnish the concluding and most glowing chapter in the future histories of this great struggle. In view of this result, so strong is our conviction of the justice, the humanity, the solemn and inevitable obligation of support to our legally constituted Government, at any sacrifice and to the last extremity, that we must account any man as recreant to truth, to honor, and to God, who shall be found opposed or indifferent to the triumphant vindication of its rights and its authority.

## ARTICLE VIII.—ILLUSTRATIONS OF SAXON-ENGLISH POETRY.

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THE object of this article is illustration rather than criticism, and certainly not history in any proper sense of that word. We shall be obliged, however, to connect illustrations by a historic chain, and shall not hesitate to pause a moment for critical contemplation wherever the temptation may be too strong to be readily resisted.

The Anglo-Saxon foundation of the English language involves the Anglo-Saxon foundation of English literature. The stream which rises beneath the shadows of the Rocky Mountains, and gathers the waters of great tributaries as it flows, is itself but a tributary of that lesser stream which it swells and colors. Whatever the amount or value of Norman infusions, they enter the current of English literature at a right angle. The direct stream is Anglo Saxon.

No rude people are without poetry. We have relics of that which the Saxons brought from their native forests on the Continent, borne by tradition from bard to bard — pagan war-songs which enlivened the feasts of kings and thanes, though in the later traditions mingled with Christian allusions. The Battle of Finsburgh, the Gleeman's Song, and the Romance of Beowulf, are of this general character. Omitting these relics as inheritances from a period anterior to the limits of our survey, we must place the name of Caedmon at the fountain-head of English poetry.

Before referring particularly to this poet, however, a few remarks on the characteristic features of Anglo-Saxon poetry may not be out of place.

As to the tone of feeling which pervades it, it is not unlike the poetry of rude nations generally. It is passionate and glowing, its passion taking the directions of war and religion,

but almost never that of love. As to expression, its striking characteristics are those of metaphor and epithet, the latter taking the character of periphrasis. The absence of connecting particles renders it abrupt, and difficult to be understood. The modulation of Anglo-Saxon verse is peculiar. It is neither metre nor rhyme, nor parallelism, and yet it produces somewhat the effect of them all. It is an easy and agreeable succession of syllables, always characterized by a regular alliteration. In every couplet two principal words of the first line commence with the same letter, and in the second line that letter is the initial of the first word requiring stress of voice.

Straét was stán-fah,  
stíg wisode  
gumum aet-gaedere.  
guth-byrne scan,  
heard hond-locen ;  
hring-iren scír  
song in searwum,  
thá hie tó sele furthum  
in hyra gryre-geatwum  
gangan cwomon.

The street was of shining stones,  
the path directed  
the men together.  
The war-mail shone,  
hard hand-locked ;  
the bright ring-iron  
sang in their trappings,  
when they to the hall also  
in their terrible armor  
came on their way.

It is not easy to trace, indeed it is impossible to trace the development of Anglo-Saxon poetry. The bards who recited the national poems added to them at their pleasure, and the changes which occurred in the progress of transmission, as various as individual fancies, tradition could have no means of denoting. The Romance of Beowulf, unquestionably of pagan origin, reveals so little of northern mythology as to justify the belief that Christian bards dropped this mythology from their recitals. We cannot doubt that the Christian elements were a late addition, introduced by their piety. Indeed, this recasting of songs transmitted by tradition, was only an illustration among these rude minstrels, of the universal license of poets. Virgil recast in Roman forms the older Grecian epic. Chaucer and Shakespeare repeated for the thousandth time the legends of all Europe, and even in our own day, Tennyson tells anew the stories which British minstrels recited a thousand years ago. It is not remarkable,

therefore, that the free play of poetic license on poetry transmitted by tradition only, should render it impossible to define the stages of poetic development. We are even left in doubt concerning the poetry of Caedmon himself. It is impossible to determine how much of that which goes by his name was really his — how much was changed by additions, by omissions, by substitutions, of the successive bards who brought down his songs to the later safe-keeping of manuscripts.

Caedmon died in the year 680. The venerable Bede, who tells the story of his life, was now seven or eight years old; and when the historian had reached manhood, many must have been still living who had known the great Saxon bard. In an age when the remarkable so readily became the miraculous, it is not strange that the poet's inspiration was attributed to miracle. Dropping the supernatural from the narrative, we find a young man in humble life, so diffident of his own powers that he fled from the hall when called upon to contribute a song, suddenly discovering his poetic faculty, and consecrating it to Christian verse. He was keeping guard at the stable during the night, when falling into a slumber, a stranger approached him, saying, "Caedmon, sing me something." "I know nothing to sing," replied Caedmon; "I left the hall and came here because I could not sing." "Nay," said the stranger, "but thou hast something to sing." "What must I sing?" said Caedmon. "Sing the creation," was the reply; and thereupon Caedmon proceeded to sing verses "which he had never heard before." These were his first strains:

Now we shall praise  
the guardian of heaven,  
the might of the Creator  
and his counsel,  
the glory-father of men!  
how he of all wonders,  
the eternal lord,  
formed the beginning.  
He first created

for the children of men  
heaven as a roof,  
the holy Creator!  
then the world,  
the guardian of mankind,  
the eternal lord  
produced afterwards,  
the earth for men,  
the almighty master!

Awaking from his sleep, Caedmon repeated what he had composed during the night, and continued to compose in



similar strains. The abbess Hilda and the learned men heard his story, and believed his poetic inspiration to be a gift from heaven. They expounded to him a portion of Scripture, and the next morning he returned with it in admirable verse. At the solicitation of Hilda he became a monk of her house, and at her command he proceeded with his versification of Scripture history. He could not read, but treasuring in his memory all that he heard, "like a clean animal, ruminating it, he turned it into the sweetest verse." (*. . quasi mundum animal, ruminando, in carmen dulcissimum convertibat.*) He versified the whole history of Genesis, the departure of the Jews from Egypt, and their entrance into the Promised Land, with other narratives, as of the Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension, and of the advent of the Holy Ghost, and "also made many poems on the terrors of the day of judgment, the pains of hell, and the sweetness of the heavenly kingdom." The venerable historian gives a beautiful account of his death. Though others saw no presages, he knew that his hour was come. He asked and received the Eucharist, and demanded of his brethren if he was in peace with them all. "And signing himself with the holy cross, he reclined his head on the pillow, and so in silence ended his life. And thus it was,"—such is the narrative—"that as he with pure and calm mind and tranquil devotion had served God, he in like manner, leaving the world by as calm a death, went to his presence; and with that tongue which had composed so many salutary words in praise of the Creator, closed his last words also in his praise, as he crossed himself and committed his spirit into his hands.\*

Klipstein's titles to some of his selections from Caedmon, seem almost as if suggested by the great English epic. "The Revolt and Condemnation of Satan and his followers," "Satan's Address to his Comrades," "The expedition of one of Satan's ministers to the upper world, and his interview with Adam in Paradise," "Being foiled in his attempts upon Adam, he turns away to Eve," "The fall of Eve, and the

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\* Biographia Britannica Literaria, Vol. I, p. 197.

continued wiles of the Tempter," "The fall of Adam through Eve's persuasions."

We must content ourselves with one or two citations, selecting such as from their resemblance to the speech of Satan in the first book of the *Paradise Lost*, have given to Caedmon the name of the Saxon Milton. We give the following in Thorpe's translation :

Boiled within him  
his thought about his heart,  
hot was without him  
his dire punishment.  
Then spake he words :  
" This narrow place is most unlike,  
that other place that we formerly  
knew,  
high in heaven's kingdom  
which my master bestowed on me,  
though we it, for the All-powerful,  
may not possess,  
we must cede our own realm ;  
yet hath he not done rightly,  
that he hath struck us down  
to the fiery abyss  
of the hot hell,  
bereft us of heaven's kingdom,  
hath decreed  
to people it  
with mankind.  
That is to me of sorrows the greatest,  
that Adam  
who was wrought of earth,  
shall possess  
my strong seat,  
that it shall be to him in delight,  
and we endure this torment,  
misery in this hell.  
Oh ! had I power of my hands,  
might one season  
be without,  
be one winter's space,  
then with this host I —  
But around me lie

iron bonds,  
presseth this cord of chain ;  
I am powerless !  
me have so hard ;  
the clasps of hell  
so firmly grasped !  
Here is a vast fire  
above and underneath,  
never did I see  
a loathier landscape ;  
the flame abateth not,  
hot over hell.  
Me hath the clasping of these rings,  
this hard polished band,  
impeded in my course,  
debarred me from my way.  
My feet are bound,  
my hands manacled,  
of these hell doors are  
the ways obstructed,  
so that with aught I cannot  
from these limb-bonds escape.  
About me lie  
huge gratings  
of hard iron  
forged with heat,  
with which me God  
hath fastened by the neck ; [mind,  
Thus perceive I that he knoweth my  
and that he knew also,  
the Lord of hosts,  
that should us through Adam,  
evil befall,  
about the realm of heaven,  
where I had power of my hands."

In this rude verse there is the real epic tone. It is the narration of passion, clothing itself in forms instinct with poetic inspiration. The distance between it and the magnifi-

cent verse of Milton which it so naturally suggests, is indeed vast ; but it may well be doubted whether it is a distance so vast as that which separates the conditions of an unlettered monk of the seventh century from those of the master of all learning in the seventeenth.

The temptation is irresistible to cite one more brief fragment. It is again Satan who is speaking :

"Why should I contend ?  
I cannot have  
any creature for my superior !  
I may with my hands  
so many wonders work !  
And I must have great power  
to acquire a more godlike stool  
higher in the heavens !  
Yet why should I  
sue for his grace ?  
or bend to him  
with any obedience !  
I may be a god  
as he is.  
Stand by me,  
strong companions !  
who will not deceive me  
in this contention.  
Warriors of hardy mind !

they have chosen me  
for their superior ;  
illustrious soldiers !  
with such, indeed  
one may take counsel !  
with such folk  
may seize a station !  
My earnest friends they are  
faithful in the effusions of their mind,  
I may, as their leader,  
govern in this kingdom.  
So I think it not right,  
nor need I  
flatter any one,  
as if to any gods  
a god inferior,  
I will no longer  
remain his subject." \*

It is impossible not to compare this with Milton :

"To bow and sue for grace  
With suppliant knee, and deify his power,  
Who, from the terror of this arm, so late  
Doubted his empire ; that were low indeed,  
That were an ignominy, and shame beneath  
This downfall ; since by fate the strength of gods,  
And this empyreal substance, cannot fail :  
Since through experience of this event,  
In arms not worse, in foresight much advanced,  
We may with more successful hope resolve  
To wage by force or guile eternal war,  
Irreconcilable to our grand foe,  
Who now triumphs, and in the excess of joy,  
Sole reigning holds the tyranny of heaven." †

\* Sh. Turner's Anglo-Saxons, Amer. ed., p. 573.

† Book I.

The amount of Anglo-Saxon poetry which has been preserved is very considerable, and would require, for any adequate consideration, much ampler space than we can now award to it. Besides the extensive narrative poems to which we have referred, it embraces a fragment of the Tale of Judith — a narrative poem of much merit — ethical poems, historical songs, and minor poems which have been sometimes spoken of as ballads. The bard held a high place among the Anglo-Saxons from the earliest times, and the national love of poetry exhibited itself at a later day among those who took the lead in the intellectual development of the people. Bede, if not a composer of Anglo-Saxon poetry, was certainly familiar with it (*doctissimus in nostris carminibus*), and is said, when on his death-bed, to have uttered his devout thoughts in its language; Aldhelm, one of the most accomplished of Anglo-Saxon scholars, was famous as a poet, making his songs in the vernacular the charm by which he gathered listeners to his preaching. It was a book of Anglo-Saxon poems which allured Alfred to his letters, and well did the royal scholar repay to his mother tongue the debt which its songs had created. To the Anglo-Saxon bishop Leofric we are indebted for the great collection of Anglo-Saxon poetry known as the Exeter Book, which he gave to his own church at Exeter, early in the same century which saw the Bishoprics made over to Norman conquerors. The Anglo-Saxon tongue had reached its zenith in the reign of Alfred. The troubles of succeeding times had given to it the marks of age and decay, and the thoughtful labors of this good bishop in gathering and depositing its treasures in the cathedral church, seem like a providential preparation for the transfer of the kingdom to foreigners, and the infusion among the people of a language which neither they nor their fathers had known.

The Norman Conquest occurred in 1066. The changes which resulted to language were attended by equal, if not more decided changes in the conceptions and structure of poetry. Alliteration mingled itself curiously with imitations of Norman rhymes, while as yet Norman words were extremely rare in the native verse. In one remarkable in-



stance, alliteration and rhyme both disappeared, yielding to an accentual rhythm resembling that of our present poetry. We refer here to the *Ormulum*, so-called from the author's name, and by his fancy.

thiss boc is nemmed Ormulum,  
forrthi thaet Orrmm itt wrohhte.

The *Ormulum* is of uncertain date. Spalding supposes it to belong to the last half of the twelfth century; Wright thinks it may have been written before the death of King John, which occurred in the early years of the thirteenth century (1216); while Marsh fixes its date at about 1225. The language in which the book is written renders the latest date which can be assigned to it most probable. It is Saxon so changed to English that it is more English than Saxon, and, what is very remarkable, this is done without the introduction of a solitary word from Norman-French sources. The *Ormulum* is a metrical paraphrase of the Four Gospels, and is manifestly the production of a cultivated and devout man. Mr. Marsh thinks the book was never put in circulation, and favors the belief that the mutilated manuscript which has descended to our times was the author's own. The skilful versification is easily followed, and the language is rendered into modern English with little difficulty. It may be added that the author is understood to hint that his attempt to teach his countrymen, by this translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, subjected him to persecution. A few lines will serve as sufficient illustrations. For the first of these modernizations we are indebted to Marsh, and for the last to Wright.

Now, brother Walter, brother min,  
After the flesh's nature;  
And brother min in Christenty,  
By baptism and believing;  
And brother in the house of God,  
Eke in another manner,  
In that we two have taken up  
One priestly rule to follow,  
Both canons are in rank and life,  
As holy Austin's 'stablished;

I now have done even as thou badst,  
 And thy desire fulfilled,  
 For into English I have turned  
 The Gospel's sacred teachings,  
 According to the little gift  
 Which God to me hath granted.  
 Thou thoughtest that it might right well  
 Yield Christian souls much profit ;  
 If English folk for love of Christ,  
 Would faithfully it study,  
 And follow it, and it fulfil,  
 In thought, in word, in doing.\*

The other extract is as follows :

I have placed here in this book  
 among the words of the Gospel,  
 Entirely through myself, many a word,  
 the rime so to complete ;  
 But thou shalt find that my word,  
 in each place where it is added,  
 May help those that read it  
 to see and to understand,  
 All the better how it becomes them,  
 to understand the Gospel.†

To about the period of the *Ormulum*, possibly a little earlier, belongs another remarkable monument of our mediæval poetry—the *Brut* of Layamon. Layamon was a priest, born at Ernley on the Severn. Conceiving the design of a book on the inexhaustable subject of British history, he accumulated his materials, and set himself to his task. His own account of this process may serve for one of our specimens of his poems. The modernization is Wright's :

Layamon travelled  
 far through the people,  
 and obtained the noble book  
 which he took for his exemplar.  
 He took the English book  
 which Saint Bede made ;  
 another he took in Latin,  
 which was made by Saint Albin,

and the fair Austi  
 who brought baptism hither.  
 A third book he took,  
 and laid it there amidst,  
 which a French clerk made  
 was called Wace,  
 who was very skilful in writing,  
 and he offered it to the noble

\* Lect. on Lang., p. 522.

† Biog. Brit. Lit. Anglo-Norm. Per., p. 436.

Eleanora,  
 who was Henry's queen,  
 the powerful king.  
 Layamon laid this book,  
 turned over the leaf.  
 he looked at it with pleasure,  
 may the Lord be good to him,

he took pens with his fingers,  
 and fell zealously on the book,  
 and the true words  
 set together,  
 and the three books  
 collected into one.\*

This immense, and immensely tame poem extends through thirty-two thousand lines. It rests on the Norman-French Brut of Wace, of which it is a free translation, amplified at pleasure. It commences with the seige of Troy, and ends with the last of the British kings. It has its chief value as a monument of the language at a period of which few monuments remain. It is so thoroughly Saxon in its vocabulary that in the oldest of the two manuscripts less than fifty words of Norman-French origin have been discovered, and yet it is Saxon far gone in decay, the wreck extending through inflections, genders, and syntax. Indeed, out of the dying Saxon the new life of the English is already emerging, though less rapidly than in the metrical paraphrase of Orm, to which we have just been referring. It is now the fashion to speak of Layamon as the English Ennius.

While Layamon's vocabulary adheres so closely to the Saxon, his style and the structure of his work copy the Norman-French. The imaginative, soaring epic of the Saxon, yields to the "creeping" narrative of the Norman; Saxon alliteration mingles curiously with Norman rhyme; and sometimes rhyme and alliteration both disappear altogether. This work remained unpublished till 1847, when it appeared in two elegant volumes, edited by Sir Frederic Madden.

The following from the story of King Lear, is an illustration of its rhyme :

Gornouille was swithe war  
 Swa beoth wifmen wel i-whaer,  
 and seide aene lesigne  
 heore faedere thon king ;  
 " Leofe faedere dure  
 swa biole ie Godes are,

⁂ **noī** was very cunning,  
 as women are everywhere,  
 and said a falsehood  
 to her father the king ;  
 " Beloved father, dear,  
 as I pray for God's mercy,

\* Biog. Brit. Lit. A. N., p. 440.

swa helpe me Apollin  
for min i-laefe is al on him  
that levere theo aert mo aene  
thane this world al clane;  
and yet iè the wille spoken wit,  
theon aert leovre thene mi lif,  
and this ich suege the to seothe,  
thu mith me url i-leve."

so help me Apollin,  
for my belief is all in him, [me,  
that thou alone art more precious to  
than all this world entire;  
and yet I will speak with thee,  
thou art dearer than my life,  
and this I say to thee for truth  
that thou mayest entirely believe me."\*

It is a pleasure to turn from the prosaic verse of Layamon to a fragment belonging to the same, or a little later period, which glows with real poetic warmth. It is from the poem entitled "*The Owl and the Nightingale*,"—a poem setting forth a controversy between these birds as to their comparative merits. Its octo-syllabic lines, its smooth versification, its fancy and feeling, give it a resemblance to modern English verse, which compels our homage and admiration. The language of the poem would indicate the latest date that can be assigned to it—the close of the thirteenth century. The extract here given is accessible in Spalding's *History of English Literature*:

Hule, <sup>1</sup> thu axest me (ho <sup>2</sup> seide),	1 owl. 2 she.
Gif ich kon <sup>1</sup> eni other dede,	1 know.
Butë singen in sumer tide,	
And bringë blissë for and wide.	
Wi axestu of craftës mine?	
Betere is min on <sup>1</sup> than allë thine.	1 one.
And lyst, ich tellë thee ware-vore; <sup>1</sup>	1 wherefore.
—Wostu <sup>1</sup> to-than man was i-bore? <sup>2</sup>	1 wottest thou? 2 born.
To tharë <sup>1</sup> blisse of hovenë-riche, <sup>2</sup>	1 the. 2 heaven—kingdom.
Thar <sup>1</sup> ever is song and murthe i-liche. <sup>2</sup>	1 when. 2 alike (?)
* * * * *	
Vorthi <sup>1</sup> men singth in holi chirche,	1 therefore.
And clerëkës ginneth songes wirche;	
That man <sup>1</sup> i-thenchë bi the songe,	1 one.
Wider he shall, and thar bon longe,	
That he the murthë ne vorgete, <sup>1</sup>	1 forget.
And thereof thenchë and bigete. <sup>1</sup>	1 seek.
* * * * *	
Hi <sup>1</sup> riseth up to midel nichte,	1 They.
And singeth of the hovenë lihte;	
And prostës <sup>1</sup> upë londë singeth,	1 priests.
Wane the liht of daië springeth;	
And ich hom <sup>1</sup> helpë wat I mai,	1 them.
Ich singë mid hom niht and dai.	

\* Ib., 441.



We shall attempt to reduce this beautiful fragment to modern verse, making the variations from the original as slight as possible :

Hule, thou askest me, she said,  
 If I know any other deed,  
 But to sing in summer tide,  
 And bliss bring with me far and wide.  
 Why askest thou what crafts are mine ?  
 Better mine one, than all of thine.  
 And listen while I wherefore tell ;  
 Knows't thou where man was born to dwell ?  
 In the bliss of heavenly life,  
 Where ever song and mirth are rife.

\* \* \* \* \*

Therefore men sing in holy kirk,  
 And clerks their songs begin to work,  
 That man bethinking by the song,  
 Whither he goes, and there how long,—  
 That he the mirth may ne'er forget,  
 But think, and for the blessing wait.

\* \* \* \* \*

They rise up at the middle night,  
 And sing they of the heavenly light ;  
 The priest upon the land, he singeth,  
 When the early day-light springeth ;  
 I am their helper, what I may,  
 For I sing with them night and day.

We must return for a few moments to a class of writers of whom we have the type in Layamon, and who are known as the "Metrical Chroniclers." Following Layamon at the distance of nearly or perhaps quite a century, appeared Robert of Gloucester, who about 1280, wrote the history of England in rhymed Alexandrines. With a little more of warmth and vigor than we find in Layamon, he uses English greatly in advance of that semi-Saxon writer. A part of the familiar story of the father and mother of Thomas á Becket, may serve for brief illustrations of his style :

Gilbert was Thomas fader name : that truë was and god,  
 And lovede God and holi Church : sith he wit understod.  
 The croicë to the holi lond : in his yunghede he nom,<sup>1</sup>  
 And mid on Richard that was his man : to Jerusålem com.  
 There hi dude herë pelrynage : in holi stedës<sup>1</sup> faste ;

1 took.

1 places.

So that among the Sarazyns : ynome<sup>1</sup> hi were atte laste, 1 taken.  
 Hi and other Cristene men : and in strong prisoun ido,<sup>1</sup> 1 put.  
 In meseise and in pyne ynough : of hunger and chile also,  
 For ful other half yer : greate pyne hi hadde and schame,  
 In the Princes house of the lawe : Admiraud was his name.  
 Ac Gilbert of London : best gracē haddē there,  
 Of the Prince and allē his : among all that ther were,  
 For oftē al in feterēs : and in other bende.  
 The Prince he servede atte mete : for him thoctē hende.

\* \* \* \* \*

And nameliche thurf a maid : that this Gilbert lovede faste,  
 The Princes douchter Admiraud : that hire hurte al upe him caste.

\* \* \* \* \*

And eschtē him of Engēlonde : and of the manere there,  
 And of the lyf of Cristene men : and what here bileve were.  
 The manere of Engēlonde : this Gilbert hire told fore,  
 And the town het London : that he was inne i-bore,  
 And the bileve of Cristene men : this blisse withouten ende,  
 In hevene schal here medē beo : whan hi schulle hennē wende.

\* \* \* \* \*

“Ich wole,” heo siedē, “al mi lond : leve for love of the,  
 And Cristene womman become : if thu wilt spousi me.”

Robert de Brunne, another Rhyming Chronicler, a half century later than Robert of Gloucester, writes still better poetry, and still better English. His period is about 1340. His work, too, is English history, and like that of his predecessors is a translation and expansion of Norman French. He was the author likewise of other poetical translations, one of which was entitled, “Medytaciuns of the Soper of our Lorde Jhesu, and also of his Passyun, and eke of the Peynes of hys swete Modyr mayden Marye.” A few lines from his Manual of Sins, must illustrate his language. We have access to these lines only as partially modernized :

Nothing is to man so dear,  
 As woman's love in good mannér,  
 A good woman is mannes bliss,  
 Where her love right and steadfast is.  
 There is no solace under heaven,  
 Of all that a man may neven,<sup>1</sup> 1 know.  
 That should a man so much glew,<sup>1</sup> 1 delight.  
 As a good woman that loveth true ;  
 Ne dearer is none in Goddes hurd,  
 Than a chaste woman with lovely wurd.

Though we have arrived at a period when the Norman French, as a spoken language, is fast fading from the English people, we are by no means to lose the traces of Norman French influence upon our literature. In the great struggle for ascendancy as a spoken tongue, the language of the conquerors was vanquished, but in another sense it was grandly victorious even in decrepitude and death. It imparted its structural forms and some portion of its inspiring ideas to the nascent English, and so contributed largely to shape and determine the character and destiny of English poetry. This is apparent even in the Metrical Chronicles to which we have been referring, but more manifest still in the Metrical Romances of the same period. To these Romances we must give a moment's attention.

They belong to the middle-age literature of all Europe, and especially to that of the Normans, by whom they were written not only on the Continent but in England. They celebrated historical characters and events, but with little regard to historical accuracy, and with the freest possible license of natural and supernatural invention. Those which were written in England very naturally sought their subjects in English history, or in those continental events, such as the Crusades, in which the English had a common interest. Nor was it possible that these Romances, singing of war, of chivalry, of love, with all supernatural aids of dragons, dwarfs, and elves, should fail of translators into the vulgar tongue; nor was it possible that these Romances should fail to be written, at length, in the vulgar tongue itself. In the early attempts to use the English tongue for these purposes we have harbinger and pledge of those grand literary triumphs of a later day, which are furnished in the *Fairy Queen* and the *Masque of Comus*. The earlier part of the 14th century is assigned as the special period of the Norman-English Romances. The specimen readiest at command and in a somewhat modernized form, is from "*The King of Tars*" (Tarsus), who had refused his daughter to the Sultan of Damascus:

The Soudan sat at his dess,<sup>1</sup>  
Y-served of the first mess;

I high seat at table.

They comen into the hall,  
To-fore the Prince proud in press,  
Their tale they tolden withouten lees,  
And on their knees 'gan fall ;

And said "Sire, the King of Tars  
Of wicked words is not scarce,  
Heathen hound he doth thee call ;  
And ere his daughter he give thee till  
Thine heart-blood he will spill,  
And thy barons all !"

When the Soudan this y-heard,  
As a wood<sup>1</sup> man he fared,<sup>2</sup> 1 mad. 2 became.  
His robe he rent adown ;  
He tare the hair of head and beard,  
And said he would her win with swerd,  
By his lord St. Mahoun.

The table adown right he smote,  
Into the floor foot hot,<sup>1</sup> 1 did hit.  
He looked as a wild lion,  
All that he hit he smote down right,  
Both Sergeant and Knight,  
Earl and eke baron.

The angry Soudan calls a parliament—an illustration, by the way, of the unscrupulousness with which English customs were transferred to any other period or people,—and demands the aid of his lords to undertake vengeance upon the Christian King. They assent and are feasted ; "the host unride," (unreckoned) is gathered, and the assault is made. The strife bloody and terrible, "three Heathen again two Christian men," ended in the discomfiture and flight of the King of Tars.

Mony a helm there was unweaved,  
And mony a bassinèt to-cleaved,  
And saddles mony empty ;  
Men might see upon the field,  
Mony a Knight dead under shield,  
Of the Christian company.

\* \* \* \*

The Saracens that time, sans fail,  
Slew our Christians in batail,  
That ruth it was to see ;  
And on the morrow for their sake,  
Truce they gan together take,  
A month and days three.



As the King of Tars sat in his hall,  
 He made full great dool withal,  
 For the folk that he had i-lore.  
 His doughter came in rich pall,  
 On knees she 'gan before him fall,  
 And said, with sighing sore ;  
 "Father," she said, "let me be his wife,  
 That there be no more strife," &c.

We have already seen in the fragment of "*The Owl and the Nightingale*" that English poetry was not to be confined to the narratives of Chronicle and Romance. At the period at which we have now arrived—approaching the middle of the 14th century—it has begun to take the miscellaneous forms of later verse, sentimental, satirical, and didactic. The names of two poets are usually given as illustrations of this transition, Richard Hampole and Lawrence Minot ; the latter of whom, especially, was a poet of no mean order. Hampole was the author of the often quoted description of Heaven :

"Ther is lyf without ony deth,  
 And ther is youthe without ony elde,"

and Minot celebrated in spirited songs the battles of Edward III. In one of these songs, in which Edward is represented as in Brabant to win "his heritage," "the right heir of that countree," the poet, with true English consistency, reduces Philip VI, to the rank of a Knight. He is simply, "Sir Philip the Valays."

Edward oure comely King,  
 In Braband has his woning,  
 With many comely Knight ;  
 And in that land, truely' to tell,  
 Ordains he still for to dwell,  
 To time he think to fight.

Now God that is of mightés mast,  
 Grant him grace of the Holy Ghast,  
 His heritage to win,  
 And Mary Moder, of mercy free,  
 Save our King and his meny,  
 Fro sorrow, shame and sin."

In the narrative of the battle which ensues, the proportions of the hosts are "seven against one," but the English are the victors.

The princes that were rich on raw,<sup>1</sup>      1 "richly clad in a row?"  
 Gert<sup>1</sup> nakers<sup>2</sup> strike and trumpés blaw,      1 caused. 2 tymbals.  
 And made mirth at their might.  
 Both alblast<sup>1</sup> and many a bow,      1 cross-bow.  
 War ready railed<sup>1</sup> upon a row,      1 placed.  
 And full frek for to fight.

Gladly they gave meat and drink,  
 So that they suld the better swink,<sup>1</sup>      1 labor.  
 The wight<sup>1</sup> men that there were.      1 stout.  
 Sir Philip of France fled for doubt,  
 And hied him hame with all his rout :  
 Coward! God give him care!

For there then had the lily flower,  
 Lorn all halely<sup>1</sup> his honour,      1 lost wholly.  
 That so gat fle<sup>1</sup> for feared ;      1 got put to flight.  
 Bot our King Edward come full still,<sup>1</sup>      1 at his case.  
 When that he trowed no harm him till,  
 And kepted him in the beard.

But the history of English Poetry is no longer fragmentary or uncertain. The political and military activity of the fourteenth century has its counterpart in intellectual and moral animation and progress. The people ripening for religious reformation and civil liberty, find a representation in the permanent literature of their country. *The Vision of Piers Ploughman*, a poem extending to nearly 15,000 lines, belongs probably to the year 1362. Its author, not certainly known, was most likely Robert Langlande, a monk of Malvern, on the border of Wales. He had caught the spirit of his times, and was in full sympathy with the party of progress. He was a scholar beyond question, and yet a man of the people. Indebted for the allegorical form of his poem to Norman and Italian originals, and following in the spirit and the freedom of his satires against clergy, monks, and aristocracy, the Latin poems of Walter Mapes and his successors, he restores at a single bound the Anglo-Saxon versification, and constructs a work which strikes directly at the English heart. It is a

poem *of* the English people, and *for* them ; not for their entertainment merely, but to animate and encourage them in the great struggles for truth and freedom which were before them. Veiling its purposes under a profound allegory, it probably escaped proscription. It seems never to have been fully understood until two centuries after, when its principles blossomed in the Reformation, and when it became suddenly and for a long period a popular poem. The *Creed of Piers Ploughman*, which is generally associated with it, was a later production by at least a quarter of a century, and represented the same great popular movement in riper forms. Its merits as a poem are greatly inferior to those of the *Vision*. These poems, the *Vision* and the *Creed*, bring us down to the period of Chaucer. We must close these illustrations with a few extracts from the *Vision*, which may serve to furnish some idea of its scope and character.

It thus commences :

In a somer seson,  
Whan softe was the sonne,  
I shoop me into shroudes,  
As I a sheep weere,  
In habite as an heremite,  
Unholy of werkes,  
Wente wide in this world  
Wondres to here ;  
Ac on a May morwenynge,  
On Malverne hilles  
Me bifel a ferly,  
Of fairye me thoghte,  
I was wery for-wandred,  
And wente me to reste,  
Under a brood banke  
By a bournes syde ;  
And as I lay and lenede,  
And loked on the watres,  
I slombered into a slepyng,  
It sweyed so murye.  
    Thanne gan I meten  
A marveillous swevene,  
That I was in a wilderness,  
Wist I nevere where,  
And as I biheeld into the cest,

An heigh to the sonne,  
 I seigh a tour on a toft  
 Trieliche y-maked,  
 A deep dale byneethe,  
 A dongeon therinne,  
 With depe diches and derke  
 And dredfulle of sighte.  
 A fair feeld ful of folk,  
 Fond I ther bitwene,  
 Of alle manere of men,  
 The mene and the riche,  
 Werchyng and wandrynge,  
 As the world asketh.

The poet having thus cast himself into a sleep, proceeds to describe "alle manere of men" who appeared before him in his vision. The brief lines in which he characterizes the various classes, indicate the popular interest, political and religious, in which the poem was written.

Some putten hem to the plough,  
 Pleiden ful selde,  
 In settyng and sowyenge  
 Swonken ful harde,  
 And wonnen that wastours  
 With glotonye destruyeth.

And somme putten hem to pride,  
 Apparailed hem thereafter,  
 In contenance of clothyng  
 Comen degised.

\* \* \* \* \*

Pilgryms and palmeres  
 Plighten hem togidere,  
 For to seken seint Jame,  
 And seintes at Rome.  
 They wenten forth in hire wey,  
 With many wise tales,  
*And hadden leve to lyen*  
*Al hire life after.*

I seigh some that seiden  
 They hadde y-sought seintes;  
 To ech a tale that thei tolde  
 Hire tong was tempred to lye,  
 Moore than to seye sooth,  
 It semed by hire speche.

\* \* \* \* \*

I fond there freres,



Alle the foure ordres  
 Prechyng the peple  
 For profit of hemselfe ;  
 Glosed the gospel  
 As hem good liked,  
 For coveitise of copes  
 Construwed it as thei wolde.

\* \* \* \*

Ther preched a pardoner,  
 As he a preest were ;  
 Broughte forth a bulle  
 With many bisshopes seles,  
 And seide that himself myghte  
 Assoillen hem alle,  
 Of falshede, of fastyng,  
 Of avowes y-broken.  
 Lewed men leved it wel,  
 And liked hise wordes ;  
 Comen up knelyng  
 To kissen his bulles. \*

When such a poem was an echo of the popular feeling, we cannot be surprised to find the poet, when he has depicted the vices of the religious orders, uttering prophecies which at a later day were marvellously fulfilled, nor shall we wonder at the popularity of the poem at the period of the Reformation.

Ac ther shall come a kyng,  
 And confesse yow religiouse,  
 And bete yow as the Bible telleth  
 For brekyng of youre rule ;  
 And amende monyals,  
 Monkes and chanons,  
 And puten to hir penaunce.†

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\* Line 146.

† Line 6245.

## ARTICLE VIII.—RALPH WALDO EMERSON AND HIS WRITINGS.

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*The Conduct of Life.* By RALPH WALDO EMERSON. Boston : Ticknor & Fields.

A NEW book from Mr. Emerson cannot be altogether new. It is now a score of years since he put his first volume of Essays into print, and he began to publish five years earlier. This is the seventh volume of his collected writings. He has produced slowly, and in pieces ; but there is in them all the continuity and likeness which belong to one mind. Whatever he has now to offer cannot very much change the judgment which all this time has been making in regard to him. He is now in the fulness of his years, of years ample with opportunity of thought, experience, travel, culture. He has reached "the years which bring the philosophic mind," and we may now expect the ripest, sincerest, best thoughts he has to offer. He has led the life of a student and a philosopher ; recluse enough for meditation, and yet enough in the world for observation and experience ; unstained by any self-indulgence ; unexhausted by any responsible part in affairs ; letting his genius run at its own sweet will, and never wanting the encouragement of a ready audience for whatever he may have to say. He comes to judgment in no new character, unless it be that the title of his book intimates something a little more didactic than usual. This, however, is only in appearance, for though most of his writings are of the nature of lectures, they have very little reference to instruction, or any immediate impression. The desire or attempt to win pupils, or converts, does not appear in them. They have the air rather of a confession and a testimony. They are utterances, not arguments. They are not organic and continuous

courses of thought, but single perceptions — swift, piercing, subtle, and entirely individual. It is not the truth of things so much as his vision of it. Their fit title and preface is, *sic loquitur, R. W. E.* This is rather the salient feature of his philosophy, and of his temper. He stands fast for the individual soul. He remands every man to that, and intends to stick there himself. It is Protestantism in its last stage, the sufficiency of the individual to itself. The soul is equal to its own wants. Let it stay at home and heaven will come to its door. Solitude is his grand prescription. In the end, all things are made out of the soul. Travel is needless. History you can find in the laws of your own being.

“We receive but what we give,  
And in our life alone does nature live,  
Ours is her wedding-garment, ours her shroud.”

This is no more a principle, and the very bottom of his philosophy, as we shall soon see, than it is the manner of his mind. Its processes are those of insight rather than of reasoning. He simply announces and counts what he says sufficient of itself, without any logic of connection with before or after, without any support of proofs and reasons. It is a mind of much culture and little discipline, impatient of the laws of thought, excursive, liable, like Ixion, to embrace a cloud for a divinity. It has never been sifted and shaken by vigorous discipline in logic. It trusts to extemporaneous sallies into the unknown, and often the inane. Of course to such a mind it is not necessary to be consistent. He disclaims, if he does not disdain it. System is foreign to all his intellectual processes. He holds himself bound by nothing he or anybody else has said. He only holds to the right to say or gainsay anything, according to his present intuition. “Do not set the least value on what I do, or the least discredit on what I do not, as if I pretended to settle anything as true or false. I unsettle all things. No facts are to me sacred : none are profane : I simply experiment ; an endless seeker, with no Past at my back.” (Essays, 1st series, p. 262.)

With this individualizing, is also an ideal tendency of mind,

melting all things into their laws, drowning the universe in the abyss of his generalization ; nay, even sinking God and nature in the soul. And yet this idealizing bent of mind which has made him what we call a Transcendentalist, is met by a reëntering force towards reality which gives his thought and style a singular concreteness. It is the combination of these salient and reëntering tendencies which constitutes his peculiar genius. If the centrifugal force were all, his thought would rarefy into such thin and altogether ideal speculations as would have no hold, and no charm upon the mind, such as he now has by his fine mixture of worldly shrewdness and hard sense with the airiest abstractions. The most evanescent and subtle conception he catches and links to the homeliest matter of fact. He is the hardest of realists, as he is the most soaring of idealists. There is a keen sagacity, or knowledge of life, even on its homely sides, a worldly wisdom, an eye for all pretence, a shrewd sense and accruing humor, strange in a speculating philosopher. Such a mind, with such tendencies, pays its penalty in that it is dry of all unction, and kindles no inspirations. The intellectual life is in excess, and absorbs feeling. Love has no place in his theory of God, or of life, and so adds no glow or beauty to his discourse. Religion is allowed to supply no warmth, which would come from reverence and faith. He is too much of a poet to be a philosopher, and too much of a philosopher to be a poet. Hence his poetry, some of which is vivid with force and beauty, is too hard and intellectual. Aside from its quirks and superfine subtleties, and antique, if not affected, rudeness, it lacks blood, and the heat of the heart.

Without reviewing further the qualities of his mind, we find them running into his style. His power as a writer is in the choice of words rather than their syntax. That is aphoristic, often abrupt, rivalling sometimes the paradox of his thoughts with the inversions and involutions of his sentences. And yet his sentences are generally short and affirmative, dense with pith, and going to the mark as if from a gun. There is a certain parsimony in his style, omitting to say what is better the mind of the reader should make up, letting that do some-



thing ; a withholding, a purgation of explanations and superfluities, which adds a special charm. Compression, the effort to force the contents of many words into one, often to put unrelated thoughts into connection, must sometimes give obscurity. So also the perpetual effort to convey meaning by indirection and suggestion. There are sentences which have very little meaning, with a great appearance of it. But the best, at any rate most striking quality of his style, is force of statement. The thought coins its own expression, hugs close to its own word. And yet he is no literalist, writing as if under oath—the farthest from it. Force carries him over often, and he exaggerates. To a mind which uses words like counters, every one standing for an exact quantity—that Scotch order of intellect which Charles Lamb satirizes so unmercifully, which “stops a metaphor like a suspected person in an enemy’s country;” which Emerson himself describes (p. 121): “There are people who can never understand a trope, or any second or expanded sense given to your words, or any humor ; but remain literalists after hearing the music and poetry, and rhetoric and wit of twenty or eighty years. They are past the help of surgeon or clergy”—such writing would seem a perpetual exaggeration. But such writing stimulates the mind. There is wine and electricity in it. Beyond most writers, Mr. Emerson carries by surprise. You never know what is coming. Of course this runs sometimes into freaks and whimsies beyond the patience of all sober people. But wine is not water. And surprise is one of the elements of poetry, and the pleasure it gives. One element of this force of style is in the concreteness of it, even to homeliness. To him nothing is common or unclean. He puts fine elixirs into junk-bottles. One is struck not only with the copiousness of anecdote, of pat sayings and stories from oriental mystics, from common life, from biography, not of literary but of practical men, but with the nouns which stick like pebbles in his composition ; that his words are those of fact and life, rather than of philosophy and thought. This redeems his mannerism and euphuism. It tempts him, too, into what proves to be only very brilliant platitude, if not high colored nonsense.

It was a feat of the juggler, Robert Houdin, in Paris, which we once saw, to pour all sorts of wine out of the same bottle—red, white, champagne, claret—twenty kinds, just as was called for. It is a sign after all of Mr. Emerson's agility, you may even say fruitfulness of mind, that he has been able to put a rather limited stock of ideas into so many permutations. He is a philosopher in his way, and has a system. Through all variety of subject, illustration, discourse, run certain ideas; you may not anticipate the form, but you may be sure the old thought will always turn up. He may disclaim the past, and be consistent only for the moment, and still something rides on his back which he cannot escape. To be sure it is the tendency of his mind to bear with all force toward the special view before him, first this side, then that. But you soon find his apogee and perigee. If he has no conscious system, there is one. The mind enforces such unity and consistency as belong to its own nature, even into its most eccentric actions. It is hardly worth while to draw out his scheme of doctrine, such as it is. But we must not dwell upon his mind and style, and say nothing of his philosophy, though in the book before us there are no very overt statements of the Emersonian Metaphysics. It would involve too much to attempt an exposition of the philosophical system in which his ideas are rooted. It is essentially pantheistic. It vibrates between absorption of the soul in God, and absorption of God in the soul. At bottom, however, all things are identical—Nature, the soul's God. There is an over-soul—what in the lecture on Worship he calls "the Superpersonal Heart," which includes all souls, lies back, inundating them. The soul is centred in eternal substance, is inlet and outlet to that. It makes its own objective world. All things are born of the mind.

"Nothing is, if thou art not,  
Thou art under, over all;  
Thou dost hold and cover all:  
Thou art Atlas, Thou art Jove;  
The mightiest truth  
Hath all its youth  
From thy enveloping thought."—(*Dial.*, 8.)

Man is the measure of all things. The individual is the centre to which all things run, containing in itself the laws of all things. The soul builds the body, life, all things—makes its own world.

In his lecture on the Transcendentalist (1842), he states the creed of that remarkable person who in those days figured on the front of all things in his neighborhood for a time. "From this transfer of the world into the consciousness, this beholding of all things in the mind, follow his whole ethics. It is simple to be self-dependent. The height, the deity of man is, to be self-sustained, to need no gift, no foreign force. All that you call the world is the shadow of that substance which you are, the perpetual creation of the powers of thought; of those that are dependent, and of those that are independent of your will; do not cumber yourself with fruitless pains to mend and remedy remote effects; let the soul be erect and all things will go well."

This philosophy is entirely subjective—a subjective idealism; objective revelations it sweeps away. Intuitions take their place. Indeed truth has no real existence. It is subjective, and of your own eye. It has no eternity, no reality of its own, independent of your red glasses and my blue ones. It compels his attitude towards Christ and Christianity, which indeed is not so immediately offensive in this as in some of his earlier books, and yet is covertly one of repulsion and antagonism. What is Christ, when you and I are as near what he calls "the Nameless Thought, the Nameless Power, the Superpersonal Heart," as he? He has no office for your soul. This Christianity, this Christendom, is born as all religions are; their roots are in the soul. Indeed theologies, churches, religions, all that has place in history, is phenomenal, and what is it to the soul whose life is in itself, whose only wisdom and only necessity is to stick to its own thought? Then, too, another principle of his philosophy is that all is made of the same stuff. "Let us build altars," he says, "to the Beautiful Necessity which secures that all is made of one piece; that plaintiff and defendant, friend and enemy, animal and plant, food and eater, are of one kind." Long ago he pleaded for

"the identity of gravitation and purity of heart." Pantheism of course leaves no room for revelations, for faith.

Mr. Emerson is a Gentile—not a mocker and a scoffer, but still outside of Christianity ; out of all sympathy with Christ, and the Christian doctrines. He does not drink from Christ ; counts him even outgrown, perhaps superseded. "By the irresistible maturing of the general mind, the Christian traditions have lost their hold. The dogma of the mystic offices of Christ being dropped, and He standing on his genius as a moral teacher, it is impossible to maintain the old emphasis of his personality ; and it recedes, as all persons must, before the sublimity of the moral laws." This is merely ridiculous, if not entirely false. The light which has waned out of his mind, he is very much mistaken in supposing to have waned out of the eye of the world. This remarkably cool way of bowing Christ out of the world because he has been shut out of Mr. Emerson's study, and Mr. Parker's Music Hall ; because some enlightened and cultivated people in his neighborhood have concluded to allow Christ to "stand on his genius as a moral teacher ;" because even that some theological dogmas about his person and work do not hold their ground, whatever may be thought of the moral sympathy betrayed in it, does not show a great deal of knowledge of the past history, or the actual condition of Christendom. A living Christ in the history, even in the spiritual history and rise of the world, is more visible, we are obliged to think, than ever ; not his teachings only, but his Person, advancing to power wider and deeper than the life of the world has ever felt before.

Mr. Emerson's philosophy is unsocial, disintegrating, and altogether impracticable. It is destructive to institutions, and remanding every individual to the kingdom of his mind would bring back chaos. It paralyzes faith and centres every man in himself. His ideas allow no humility, no life of trust. Their tendency is to cut off the soul from the things on which God made it to lean, out of which it sucks power, and health, and wisdom. Our life is one of relations, of dependence. It is objective, as well as subjective. Its unity is in both eye and



light, lungs and air, soul and truth. It is in awe which bows before the Infinite ; in faith which clasps the invisible ; it is in the soul's relations, as well as in itself. We are learners and receivers. Instruction, example, the revelation which comes in a person or a book, in Christ and the Scriptures, the wisdom which settles in institutions, the gifts which God, nature, society, want to bestow on the asking soul, are not to be disowned without privation, narrowness, a shirking of capacity and possession. Insulation impoverishes, and it is by opening the life on all sides to reception, to use of all instruments of development and discipline, that we are enriched, even with all the fulness of God.

Mr. Emerson has carried Protestantism, democracy, individualism, beyond all reason, into even an absurd excess. His influence in this direction may have been mischievous, and yet it is a tendency, if not a result of Christianity, needful and wholesome to many. Christ thought little of society, and much of the private soul. He arraigns and he saves men as individuals. The general tenor of his gospel is not to lump men into masses, but to divide them into persons. The spirit of Christianity is for individualism against solidarity. Here has been its power and its triumph. It is what the world needs. One feels what a benefit it would be to send so many poor, leaning, begging, limp creatures home to find their souls, and set up for themselves. But when in the process of discovering their souls and getting upon their own feet, they find in themselves a light brighter than Christ's, and bid Church and Bible good-bye, the mischief comes. We can thank Mr. Emerson for many noble words in behalf of the soul and its privileges and rights, for manly independence of tradition and wisdom, for being true, each soul to itself. Only something is to be said on the other side. There is certainly something tart and wholesome in his sarcasm against the "Masses ;" though its contempt seems stoical and merciless, compared with the gentle tenderness of the Divine Pity, which says "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden."

"Leave this hypocritical prating about the masses. Masses are rude, lame, unmade, pernicious in their demands and in-

fluence, and need not to be flattered, but to be schooled. I wish not to concede anything to them, but to tame, drill, divide, or break them up and draw individuals out of them. The worst of charity is, that the lives you are asked to preserve are not worth preserving. Masses! the calamity is the masses. I do not wish any mass at all, but honest men only; lovely, sweet and accomplished women only, and no shovel-handed, narrow-brained, gin-drinking million stockingers or lazzaroni at all." (p. 218).

In the book he has last offered, he appears less distinctively a philosopher; he pushes his principles less, and into less antagonism with the current opinions, than in his earlier Essays. Here he is more distinctively a moralist—at any rate applies his thought more closely to life and the laws of conduct. He comes forward more directly than before to instruct men in the art of living; at least to take what is agreeable to his own experience in it. It is certainly less ideal and more practical, closer to life in its general style of thought and language, as it seems to us—as indeed his last book before was—than his first Essays. He is less transcendental, and at the very start submits to the limits of a more practical theme. "To me, however, the question of the times resolves itself into a practical question of the conduct of life. How shall I live? We are incompetent to solve the times. Our geometry cannot square the huge orbit of the prevailing ideas, behold their return and reconcile their opposition. We can only obey our own polarity." Accordingly with many dashing and brilliant generalizations, there is much concreteness of matter and manner, a sort of worldly and Gentile wisdom, such as ought to belong to any contribution which such a person offers to our better understanding of the right ways of living. It is not didactic—it criticises life rather. It certainly is very far from being the Complete Duty of Man. Indeed it fails by defect, as it must. When the soul withdraws into itself, and a personal God, and an immortal hope, and a faith in Redemption are left out, all supernatural influence, the truth which gives inspiration and strenuousness to life, is gone. It belongs, too, to the cast of Mr. E.'s mind, that

this should be the hardest of books to criticise, to do justice to, as to its matter. It would defy the whole force of the British Museum to index it. Whatever system or theory he has about life, its chief end, and the best method of reaching it, he is very shy in stating it, lets it leak out as it will through the pores of his discourse. Some theory he has, and we must draw it out as we can.

What are the chief elements in Mr. Emerson's scheme of life, which to his eye gives it glory or terror? It is the question of questions, what to do with ourselves, with this life we have on hand, how to make the most of it. Wise and blessed he who can tell us even in part!

Mr. Emerson encounters it first on the side of our limitations, circumstances, of law, necessity, fate; the bond in which we are held; the tyranny of Nature. And it must be confessed it is an appalling enough account of this side of life. To be sure, he qualifies, and tries to relieve the pressure of this awful fate. He says at the start, "If we must accept fate, we are not less compelled to affirm liberty, the significance of the individual, the grandeur of duty, the power of character." And so he antagonises the necessity in which we are bound not only with the reaction of law against law, fate against fate, necessity itself being a blessing, but with "the noble creative forces" of Thought and Will. And so every man is thrown back on his own resources, to make such friends with Fate, the Eternal Laws, as he can.

But for any relief in "the noble creative forces" of a personal God, a Divine Thought and Will, a Providence working over and in these wheels of a settled order, there is no place in this hard and merciless account of life, according to Mr. Emerson. "Now and then, an amiable parson, like Jung Stilling, or Robert (meaning William) Huntington, believes in a pistareen-Providence, which whenever the good man wants a dinner, makes that somebody shall knock at his door, and leave a half-dollar;" but there is a Providence after all. It may be a weakness of Faith to hope and pray that it will make exceptions in our behalf, but it is endless satisfaction to feel and to believe that amidst the pressure of the

Eternal Laws, the antagonisms of Fate and Free Will, there is also a Personal, Living Power to ameliorate the pressure, and fortify the will, who is near to us, and nearer than this predestinated system of things into which he has put us as parts ; that through that He works, and over it He rules. It is well to know that the Eternal Laws will not turn out for us to abide by the steadfast order, but Faith is allowed to think that God is not all law ; that he is love, and that somehow (who can tell how?), he interposes in behalf of prayers—at any rate subordinates the natural order to spiritual benefit. This is the stoic consolation offered by this Gentile philosopher ; “ When a man is the victim of his fate, he is to rally on his relation to the Universe, which his ruin benefits. Leaving the demon who suffers, he is to take sides with the Deity who secures universal benefit by his pain.” For our part, we choose to rally on the side of a Providence which is above necessity not to repeal its laws, but still to number the hairs of the head, and to mix with the sternness of law the comforts of an Infinite Love.

In successive essays on Power, Wealth, Culture, Behavior, Worship, Mr. Emerson touches the salient sides of life. It is not easy to generalize his sharp, shrewd, aphoristic utterances on these subjects, and there is little space given us for details. He is not careful for qualifications, and emphasises strongly whatever he has in hand. “ I dip my pen in the blackest ink, because I am not afraid of falling into my ink-pot.” He shows a liking for proud, prodigal, untamed power, kindred with Mr. Carlyle, and which we must think more consistent with Paganism than the gentleness of Christ. He thinks success rather depends on the super-saturate and surcharge of it. “ All *plus* is good, only put it in the right place.” But then it must be husbanded and used according to rule, though the Essay certainly fails to exhibit the high moral laws which regulate power and success. Its conclusion, however, is a most impressive sermon on the inflexibility of the laws which govern life, and limit all success. The Essay on Wealth, is perhaps open to the same exception. It does not take the highest, certainly not the Christian ground. But the laws, conditions, and uses



of wealth are drawn out with rare beauty and force. On page 79, see a wholesome doctrine on earning a living. There are some fine illustrations (pp. 88, 89) of the worth of a dollar. He offers some good rules for spending. We are tempted to print for the benefit of such of our readers as are slaves of their glebe, and for the glorification of such of us as rejoice in having no land, the perils of a garden to the scholar, page 99. "With brow bent, with firm intent, the pale scholar leaves his desk to draw a freer breath, and get a juster statement of his thought, in the garden-walk. He stoops to pull up a puoslain, or a dock, that is choking the young corn, and finds there are two : close behind the last is a third ; he reaches out his hand to a fourth ; behind that are four thousand and one. He is heated and untuned, and, by and by, wakes up from his idiot dream of chick-weed and red-root, to remember his morning thought, and to find that, with his adamantine purposes, he has been duped by a dandelion. A garden is like those pernicious machines we read of every month in the newspapers, which catch a man's coat skirt or hand, and draw in his arm, his leg, and his whole body, to irresistible destruction. In an evil hour he pulled down his wall, and added a field to his homestead. No land is bad, but land is worse. If a man owns land, the land owns him. Now let him leave home if he dare. Every tree and graft, every hill of melons, row of corn, or quickset hedge, all he has done, and all he means to do, stand in his way, like duns, when he would go out of his gate. The devotion to these vines and trees he finds poisonous. Long free walks, a circuit of miles, free his brain and serve his body. Long marches are no hardship to him ; he believes he composes easily on the hills. But this pottering in a few square yards of garden is dispiriting and drivelling. The smell of the plants has drugged him and robbed him of energy, and he grows peevish and poor-spirited. The genius of reading and gardening are antagonistic, like resinous and vitreous electricity."

But what are wealth and power without Culture, to correct the evils of success ? That is needful to reduce the inflammations of egotism with which every strong and successful man

is liable to be devoured. This is the great use of Culture, to draw a man out of himself, cure him of the organic egotism which besets and narrows us all. This seems to us the finest essay in the book. With the nice, subtle insight, and exquisite appreciation which belongs to so finely organized and well cultured a mind, it treats of the relations of books, travel, city-life, and so forth, to Culture; and closes with glowing anticipations of what man shall be when he is finished. Strangely unphilosophical, however, is the naturalism which finds its prophecy of the Complete Man, not in Christ, but in "the organic effort of Nature to mount and meliorate, and the corresponding impulse to the Better in the human being." It requires immense faith to see that; it requires a culture which has a divine force and inspiration in it, to bring it to pass.

This of course vitiates the Essay on Worship. This is an attempt to speak his highest thought of life, in its highest relations and its best and final issues; to offer whatever he has found by thought or study, for the comfort, the belief, the conduct of men. But after trying to grasp all he offers as matter for faith, we find nothing. Nature is right and Divine. To it God has delegated his divinity. He indeed is swallowed up in it and lost. It remains only to keep the laws of the Universe. "The weight of the Universe is pressed down on the shoulders of each moral agent to hold him to his task." There is nothing to be accepted on trust. "Let us have nothing now which is not its own evidence. Let us not be pestered with assertions and half-truths, with emotions and snuffle." Cheering as Nova Zembla is the new Church and the new Religion, which in the shades of Concord our philosopher sees coming down out of Heaven. "There will be a new Church founded on Moral Science, at first cold and naked (why not always)? Was never stoicism so stern and exigent as this shall be." Cold and naked indeed! and the heart of man will turn from its coldness and nakedness; from its God without pity; from its fate without consolation, and without salvation; from the morality which is a Science and not a Gospel, to cry out after the warmth of Divine love, and the

clothing of Divine righteousness ; after the living God and the immortal Hope, and the Restoring Power of Christianity.

He does not move the spiritual nature with the powers which lift it out of its thralldom, or clothe it with Divine glory. Power, Wealth, Culture, the Conduct of Life as it seeks these things he may inculcate, if he cannot inspire. He opens our eyes to much of that in which life is environed, but he has not spanned its vast orbit, or pierced, even recognized, the solemn mysteries through which it rolls. We must only let him pass from our imperfect, it may be shallow criticism, to such judgments as time and truth in their slow and sure verdict must bring.

Mr. Emerson is not the teacher the world wants. Of a pure private life, of beautiful culture, of a reserved, Greek, statue-like nature, master of our English speech, trying to ground himself in the eternal realities of things, his philosophy of life is too narrow and too frigid, for it cuts it off from personal relations with the Father of all, and from the powers of the world to come. He sinks life into the purely subjective element out of which it springs, and so cuts it off from the sustaining powers which are planted in Nature, History, Revelation. He leaves no hope that at last it is not swallowed in the vast life of things, leaving no sign. Many wise things, many beautiful things he has to offer. We find in this book truths such as elevate through sham and pretence ; such as are wholesome and stimulant, as impress the mind with the stern conditions on which success is attained. But he has not seen the face of God in Jesus.

## ARTICLE IX.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

HEBREW MEN AND TIMES.\*—The history of ancient Judaism is wrought into the religious convictions of Christendom; it underlies the most fundamental conceptions of Christianity. No theory, therefore, can be formed of it which shall not involve the whole Christian system. No middle ground is tenable between the theory of Naturalism on the one hand, which reduces Judaism and Christianity alike to the common level of all other religions, and the Supernaturalism on the other, which conceives of Judaism and Christianity as a consecutive whole proceeding from God, and made authoritative to the race by the inspired records of their origin and design. Any attempt to mediate between these two theories can result only in a disguised advocacy of Naturalism.

The author of "Hebrew Men and Times" attempts to occupy this impossible middle ground. Though his one and immovable point of view is on the human side of history, he would not deny a Providence in its progress. In a "historic Revelation," he assures us "the divine or supernatural element is shown under terrestrial limitations and conditions. Events must be seen on their human side to enable us to judge of their Divine side." The real Theocracy of Judaism—its actual Divine origin and authority—he will nowhere explicitly deny; will here and there, in single sentences, in a manner even imply it, yet the whole aim and spirit of his book is as effectually to dissipate all reverence for the Scriptures as sacred and inspired, as if he had avowed the purpose to prove them of no more authority than the writings of Herodotus or Hesiod. To be assured in general phrase that in the book of Genesis "we have the half-hid and mysterious sources of that stream of purer faith which widened afterwards into the river of the water of life, to heal and bless all nations," is no remedy against the constant designation of its narratives as "pious" or "family legends." It is the feeblest of safeguards to pronounce Moses "of all the men of history the clearest example of a Providential Man," while at the same time

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\* *Hebrew Men and Times, from the Patriarchs to the Messiah.* By JOSEPH HENRY ALLEN. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1861.



we are told that "the custom of sacrifice was retained from the practices of ancient tribes, with many forms taken from the Egyptian ritual," and that in one requirement we find a "vestige of remote and inhuman superstitions," while in another, there is the "relic of an obscure and almost vanished superstition."

It is but just to the author to give the following candid statement from his preface. "I have conscientiously sought to avoid entangling this little work with any sort of dogmatism, literary or theological, and to keep it strictly to its historical intention. Not that I can claim to have succeeded perfectly. Indeed, where materials at first hand are so fragmentary and few, no reconstruction can possibly be had without the open or tacit assumption of some guiding idea. But whatever personal prepossession may have been betrayed, or judgment in matters of controversy, I trust it has been kept so far in reserve as not to interfere seriously with the main purpose of the book, or to impair such value as it may have to readers, of whatever creed." The guiding idea which he has tacitly assumed is apparent enough. There can be no ambiguity in the aim to reconstruct Biblical history on a theory that makes its records legendary, and puts them on a par with Jewish and Arab traditions. Of "personal prepossession, or judgment in matters of controversy," there is abundant betrayal. We could only wish that the trustworthiness of the volume did not so entirely rest on this personal prepossession and judgment. As it is, the attempted reconstruction rests on certain assumptions, which, if untrue (and all except rationalists believe that they are), vitiate the whole book.

There is special significance in the class of authorities cited. While occasional sentences are quoted with special credit from Warburton, Kitto, and Conybeare and Howson, the critical authorities of the writer are all on one side. The largest indebtedness (amply acknowledged) is to Ewald's elaborate *History of the Israelitic People*. It is upon his foundation, and chiefly with his materials, that our author's superstructure is raised, though we are sorry to say under the not unfrequent guidance of such critics as Gfrörer, Ghillany, F. W. Newman and Theodore Parker. This is suspicious company. The Jewish historian Jost could have done much to give it respectability, to say nothing of Hävernick, Hengstenberg and Kurtz. But these are writers whom our author finds it convenient not to recognize.

It does not surprise us then, that under the lead of such guides he declares the "larger portion" of the Pentateuch to "have been fabricated through long ages of the theocracy: that the 'Institutions of Moses

present us the ideal system of the National Government and Faith as conceived long after (the time of Moses), by the ruling Order of the Jewish priesthood;" and again, "save the few scraps, and fragments of popular song which may be plausibly referred to the time of the conquest, the earliest passages of Hebrew literature bear the clear impress" of the age of the Judges. We are prepared to hear him affirm that the "faults and crimes (of David) have been forgotten, in the vague splendor" with which "the gratitude of the priesthood towards its royal patron have invested his princely name;" and that "it is something more than charity, it is fanatical partizanship, which could overlook the gross and horrid charges (against him) of treachery, licentiousness and murder." We cease to be moved by his statements when, further on, he not only reiterates his denial to Moses of the authorship of the Law, but asserts that "a system of law is not made in a day. A religion, any more than a political, constitution cannot be fabricated outright, and wrought perforce into the thought and life of an entire people." We become indifferent to his opinions when, near the close of his volume, we find him dwelling on the speculations of Philo about the Logos, on the character and views of the Essenes, and insinuating the idea, which he does not openly avow, that in these are to be found the New Testament conceptions of the Person and teachings of Christ.

We speak thus explicitly, alike because of the intrinsic merits of Mr. Allen's book as a book, and because of its fitness for mischief. We would do amplest justice to its claims on our attention, (it has many such), but these very claims heighten our obligations to "tell all about it." It has been written with apparent candor, and with scholarship and industry and skill, which carry the reader along with the narrative in spite of his dislike to its aim and underlying theory. It is an admirable popularization of the maturest results of Rationalist criticism, and while acceptable, in its hypotheses and fundamental principles, alike to pantheist, positivist and fatalist, is carefully divested of all outward form of attack on our faith in Revelation, and so, as far as may be, avoids awakening the opposition and the suspicion of believers in it.

MILMAN'S LATIN CHRISTIANITY.\*—We have already called attention several times to this superb edition of a well-known work, as its volumes have successively appeared. The appearance of the eighth and conclu-

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\* *History of Latin Christianity; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicolas V.* By HENRY HART MILMAN, D. D., Dean of St. Paul's. In eight vols. New York: Sheldon & Company, 1861.

ding volume makes it meet that, for the benefit of some of our readers, and in the absence of a promised extended article, a single word be said of the History itself.

It is a wide sweep of fourteen centuries over which Dean Milman has tasked himself to travel. Passing rapidly over the first four centuries, and merely glancing at the earliest and obscure beginnings of the Papacy, it is not till A. D. 402 that his history properly opens; but from that point the narrative widens to the whole area of the papal power, and thence, through ten centuries, moves onward with an ever growing fulness of detail and interest, till the death of Nicolas V., in 1454. The work is a real history—not a text-book bristling with authorities and citations—not a series of disconnected pictures of periods and persons—but a glowing portraiture of the maturing and matured greatness of the most stupendous organization the world has yet seen. Every page is warm with life and reality. The Papal Church is made to stand before us in all the vastness of its resources, the comprehensiveness of its system, and the wide-reaching influence of its language, theology, architecture and art.

The inseparable connection of the Latin Church with our own civilization and Christianity give special importance to a history of Latin Christianity. There is nothing that distinguishes the style of our piety or of our literature, the bent of our theological speculations or of our social life, which has not come either by inheritance or by the development of antagonism, from the Romish Church. Even to this day, our Theology, like that of all the old Latin theologians, turns on the practical questions of inherited depravity, irresistible grace and free will, and our practical Christianity, like that of Rome, reveals itself in missionary enterprise and schemes for the amelioration of human wretchedness, rather than in mysticism, meditation, and speculation.

A History of Latin Christianity, therefore, should be specially attractive and instructive to all preachers and lovers of Protestant Christianity in this country, as well as in England. Familiar acquaintance with its history will shew us not only what we have received from the Papal Church by appropriation or by reaction, but the agencies with which we are to compete with her in the future. He will be best prepared for the present or the future, who best understands the past.

Dean Milman, so far as we can discover, is never decoyed from the simple aim of "impartial history." He never seems to set down aught in extenuation or exaggeration. He, assuredly, is not an admirer, neither is he a maligner of the Papal Church. Gifted with the fancy

of a poet by which he revives the dead past, and reclothes it with the habiliments of life, he is yet endowed with the patience of an investigator and the acumen of a literary and philosophical critic. His fancy plays no tricks with him. His pages never make us feel that we are following him through the tedious processes by which his materials were accumulated and his History fashioned, neither do they ever awaken the remotest suspicion that truth is cramped or suppressed for effect. We everywhere are conscious of contact with hard reality, of looking on the stern severity of truth, the reality and truth of actual life. If the narrative often appears to wander from the Church to the State, and to dwell more on outward movements than inward life, it is because the narrator is true to a Church that has always busied herself more with the outward acts than with the inward life of its adherents.

It was proof of the need as well as excellence of this History in English Literature, that it met with so rapid and large a sale on its appearance in England; the propriety of its addition to American reprints is demonstrated by the demand for it, even in these worst of days for our book-publishers. It is a book for all classes of readers, and would be an invaluable addition to the limited library of many a country parsonage.

We have already spoken of the admirable style of this edition. It is so complete that the *very* few typographical errors that occur in it are all the more conspicuous. There is a transposition of lines and sentences on page 301 of volume VIII, that ought to be remedied before another impression is taken.

CARTHAGE AND HER REMAINS.\* — One would think that no two peoples could be more unlike than the Carthaginians of Dido's or of Asdrubal's time, and the wretched Arabs who now prowl around the buried site of the once great Carthage. And it seems to us a strange jumble of ideas and eras, to commingle in the same volume elaborate disquisitions on Ancient Phœnician commerce and colonization, on the date and significancy of Carthaginian relics, and the prolix stories of Arabian and Turkish adventure, superstition and customs. It is provoking just as we become interested in the author's explorations, and have followed him through the chapter descriptive of his "First Attempt" at

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\* *Carthage and her Remains: being an Account of the Excavation and Researches on the site of the Phœnician metropolis in Africa, and other adjacent places, conducted under the auspices of her Majesty's Government. By Dr. N. DAVIS, R. G. S., etc. With illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. Franklin Square. 1861.*



excavation, to stumble without a word of warning upon the next chapter, filled up with the idle story of "Hamed, the Maraboot of Tejani." At a loss to understand the author's object in presenting us so heterogeneous a compound, we search for his explanation, and find the following italicised statement of what he thinks is regarded as the "standard of excellence" in a book at the present day : "*Knowledge and information must be communicated in a concise as well as in an attractive and fascinating manner.*" To this standard of excellence he has sought to conform himself. He says he "has actually endeavored to meet the peculiar requirements of the day. He has taken care neither to lose himself in the mazes of the mysterious past, nor has he ventured on wild speculation respecting the present. He sought to combine his special object — to dig for relics of the past — with his natural propensity to dig into the minds and characters of the modern occupants of the territories of Carthage. Both diggings, it will be observed, have yielded fruit, equal in quantity, but very different in quality."

But with all his digging, Dr. Davis has yet to discover the true ideal of a book that shall "meet the peculiar requirements" of the English reading public of his day. They like *conciseness* — more of it than he has granted in this volume—but we doubt if they relish their archaeology sandwiched between heavy layers of Moslem superstitions and customs. We would not, however, be uncharitable; we would much rather acknowledge the great value of his discoveries and make mention of his purpose "shortly to publish an account of the excavations in a larger and necessarily more expensive form, which will enable him adequately to exhibit all the antiquities which his labors have brought to light." May abundant success also crown his anticipated researches among the ruins of Pentapolis.

The first and introductory chapter of the volume is entitled "Carthage identified with the Tarshish of the Sacred Writers." It is but just to the author to say that he makes a strong defence of his position. He believes the name Tarshish to have been changed to Carthage after the arrival of Dido from Tyre, and in consequence of a treaty which she made with the proprietors of the land. He also attempts to identify the Ophir of Scripture with Carthage, chiefly by arguments from Hebrew etymology and the productions found within the precincts of the Carthaginian territory. His reasoning on this latter point does not strike us as perfectly conclusive. In fact many other of Dr. Davis's conclusions will hardly be adopted by those who may follow him most patiently in his reasonings.

Among the valuable relics discovered, is a colossal female bust in exquisite mosaic, which the discoverer denominates the "Head of Ceres," and which he is very confident was of Punic origin. The masonry beneath which he found it, and which he ascribes to the Roman rebuilding of the city, would seem to corroborate his opinion.

One of the most instructive chapters of the volume is that on the Religion of the Carthaginians. It contains a number of Punic inscriptions on native tablets, which give us the names of their deities and throw some light on the nature of the worship offered them. Dr. Davis is strong in the belief, and with good reason we think, that the immoralities and indecencies charged upon the Carthaginian religion by the Christian apologists, belong not to the earlier and purer days of the Phœnician Carthage, but to the period of Roman supremacy. According to his theory, Carthage was demoralized when Romanized. Punic art, Punic religion, and consequently Punic morals, were all corrupted by Rome.

Among other chapters to which we should be glad to refer, did our limits allow, is that on the "Catacombs" which he discovered and explored in the immediate vicinity of Carthage. They were found to cover an area of about four miles. Singularly enough, true to his Punic sympathies, he ascribes to these a Punic origin, on the ground that the Phœnicians buried their dead, while "Pagan Roman Carthage had recourse to the funeral pile, and had, therefore, no need of such a vast subterranean necropolis." He explains the existence of certain Christian relics in the Catacombs, on the supposition that when Christianity became ascendant in North Africa, the Oriental practice of burial instead of burning was restored, and the heathen occupants of the tombs were cast out to make room for the bodies of departed Christians; a supposition in which, we trust, not many reflecting readers will readily acquiesce. Judging from his book, we are forced to regard Dr. Davis as more skilful at excavation than at reasoning, and much less likely to err in his explorations than in his archaeological and historical conclusions.

The work is abundantly illustrated, and is in the admirable style of the Harpers' octavo works of travel.

THE ORDEAL OF FREE LABOR IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.\*—  
The angry discussions about the results of British Emancipation in the

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\* *The Ordeal of Free Labor in the British West Indies.* By WM. G. SEWELL. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

West Indies, have gradually subsided into that calm where unprejudiced people can come to something like clear and definite convictions. Indisputable facts have been patent to every body, but these have been so interpreted and accounted for by different disputants as to perplex the most honest and sagacious, just as the facts of commerce have been seized by the advocates or opponents of a National tariff and made to subserve the most opposite purposes in their discussions. This book of Mr. Sewell's, coming as it does from personal observation, and after the results of emancipation have had time to take permanent form, ought to be specially valuable, and become a kind of authority on the question of which it treats. The author seems to have gone to his task with honest intent, though doubtless with prepossessions, and so far as we have discovered, has fortified his positions with statistics which cannot be gainsaid.

Mr. Sewell, in common with many others, believes that the want of laborers in the West Indies is to be attributed, not to the disinclination of the emancipated slaves to work, but to the opportunities afforded them to better their condition. It is more congenial to their tastes, as well more profitable, to become themselves small landed proprietors or shopkeepers, than to labor on the plantations for wages. He thinks the cause of bankruptcy among the planters antedated emancipation, which only tore down the veil that concealed their poverty. Barbadoes, the only island in which there has been no deficiency of labor, "under the regime of slavery never approached her present prosperous condition; and in comparing the present with the past, whether that comparison be made in her commercial, mechanical, agricultural, industrial or educational status, he can come to no other conclusion than that the island offers a striking example of the superior economy of the free system."

The most controvertible parts of Mr. Sewell's book are his views in regard to the employment of East Indian Coolies in the cultivation of the West Indian plantations. He is emphatic and particular in his advocacy of what he calls "Coolie Immigration." His Excellency, Francis Hicks, governor of the Windward Islands, to whom the work is dedicated, "is of the opinion that there is a sufficiency of labor in many of the Colonies, and that the resort to indiscriminate Coolie immigration is unnecessary and uncalled for" (p. 56); but Mr. Sewell believes that "the scheme of immigration, instead of being condemned, should be upheld, defended, and perfected by philanthropists above all others, as a plan most happily devised for the elevation of a degraded people, and or the restoration to prosperity of a splendid inheritance" (p. 134).

The scheme he would advocate, however, is not the present one of temporary stay and a free return passage at the expiration of a given time, but one of colonization and residency. He has perfect confidence in the English safe guards against imposition and tyranny, and believes that a Coolie peasantry may be made to grow up side by side, and on peaceable terms, with the native Creoles.

Mr. Sewell, so far as we have discovered, nowhere alludes to the means employed in India to induce the Coolie to emigrate, and for aught we know they may be alike honorable to the shipper and the shipped, but we expect to shew in these pages before long, that Coolie emigration, as carried on in China, is a species of barbarity to which the African slave trade hardly need blush to be compared. Yet all that Mr. Sewell has said in praise of the East Indian and English scheme may be true ; it may be both honorable and philanthropic.

ADVENTURES IN EQUATORIAL AFRICA.\*—No one of the now numerous volumes of travel and discovery in Africa, published by the Harper's, can be compared with this of M. Du Chaillu, for marvellousness of contents. It was an unvisited region that he entered upon, and there was reason to expect that we should hear of vegetable and animal productions before unknown, as well as of strange tribes and regions. But M. Du Chaillu has taken the public by surprise. The number and kind of his discoveries seem almost incredible. He brought home over two thousand stuffed birds which he had shot, more than eighty skeletons, with two hundred stuffed skins of quadrupeds he had killed, not less than twenty of which are species hitherto unknown to science.

M. Du Chaillu entered on his travels with unusual advantages. A former residence of several years on the coast of Africa, where his father had a factory, had not only given him acquaintance with the languages and customs of the coast natives, it had inured him to the climate, and made him acquainted with the best methods of preserving life and health. When, therefore, he left this country for the Western Coast of Equatorial Africa, in October, 1855, it was with high and reasonable hopes of important discoveries. During the four years of

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\* *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa ; with accounts of the Manners and Customs of the People, and of the chase of the Gorilla, the Crocodile, Leopard, Elephant, Hippopotamus, and other animals.* By PAUL B. DU CHAILLU, Corresponding member of the American Ethnological Society, of the Geographical and Statistical Society of New York, and of the Boston Society of Natural History. With numerous illustrations. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1861.



his explorations, he travelled — always on foot and without a white companion — about 8,000 miles, suffered fifty attacks of the African fever, and took, “to cure himself, over fourteen *ounces* of quinine.”

The great feature of the book is the fulness and accuracy of its information about that frightful monster, the gorilla, an ape whose existence was not made certain to men of science till 1847, and has even since been regarded by many as uncertain. M. Du Chaillu, by the skeletons and crania brought home by him, of which he gives diagrams and measurements in his volume, has set the question at rest with all minds. It is fitting that the back of his book, and the first page to which we open, should greet the reader with a full length figure of this hideous and man-like monster. Its form is perpetually flitting across the pages of the narrative. The author dwells also with some degree of minuteness on several other species of apes peculiar to the region he explored, as the chimpanzee, the *nshiego mbouve*, a new species discovered by him, and the *kooloo-kamba*, whose face and head have a painfully and astonishingly human-like look. Our traveller is decided, however, in ascribing a much greater resemblance to the human form as a whole, in the gorilla than in either of the other apes, and equally so in maintaining the existence of a “vast chasm between even the most inferior forms of the human race and the most superior of the apes.”

The value of the volume for ethnological and scientific purposes, is by no means inconsiderable, while as a narrative of travel and adventure its attractiveness to general readers is unsurpassed. It is only to be regretted that the author had not avoided needless repetitions, and been a little more observant of the order of time and place in grouping the particulars of his story. As it is, there is in it a sad lack of verisimilitude. There *seem* to be too many fortunate occurrences happening at precisely the right time, too many astonishing escapes, too many wonderfully good shots. Our faith is sorely enough tried by what he has written, without a gratuitous taxing by confusion of times, places, and circumstances. We are out of patience with the author when, in one part of the volume, we come upon an occurrence or fact which we think he has before described, but which we find on comparison to be accompanied with such diversity of circumstance, as to leave us in doubt as to the identity. Nor has his fistic argument in defence of the truth of his own narrative to a London doubter, prepared his readers to be over credulous. Perhaps, however, all may be explained on the theory of noble negligence and an ardent temperament.

SEASONS WITH THE SEA-HORSES.\*—The Arctic regions have not hitherto been regarded as an inviting field to the sportsman. It was in August, 1858, that Mr. Lamont, a professional sportsman and traveller, while cruising leisurely in his yacht on the coast of Norway, heard of the game to be found in Spitzbergen, and made a hasty trip to that country. He arrived there so late in the season as to have little more than opportunity to see that, "wonderful sport, and of a most original description," awaited any one who should be there at the right time, and properly furnished with boats and men. Accordingly in the following spring he wrote to Hammerfest in Norway for a vessel and boats to be in readiness for him, suitable in construction and equipments for hunting the walrus and the seal along the coast of Spitzbergen. A brother sportsman and traveller, Lord David Kennedy, who like himself had used the rifle with great success on the game of the tropics, joined him, and by the 7th of July they were amid the ice and the walruses.

Nothing could be more perfectly in contrast with hunting in Africa, so often described of late, than the pursuit of walruses and seals and polar bears, amid the floating ice of the North. Variety of incident and excitement is decidedly on the side of the former. One would also think that the very few weeks of mid-summer must be quite sufficient to sate the taste of the sportsman for the latter. But Mr Lamont, as well as his companion, pursued his game with unflagging interest to the very close of the season, especially the reindeer, of which near the close he took large numbers; he has also told the story of his pursuit in a style so straight forward and frank, and good-humored, that the reader follows on without wavering to the end.

The author contributes numerous facts, and brought home various fossils and specimens, which are of value to the science of Geology. He dedicates his work to Sir Charles Lyell.

He ventures, also, a most emphatic declaration of his faith in the "theory of *progressive development*, first suggested by the illustrious Lamarck, and since so ably expounded and defended, under somewhat modified forms, by the author of the '*Vestiges of Creation*,' and by Mr. Charles Darwin." Mr. Darwin "can see no difficulty" in the conjecture that whales were originally a race of bears that became

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\* *Seasons with the Sea-Horses; or Sporting Adventures in the Northern Seas.* By JAMES LAMONT, Esq., F. G. S. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square. 1861.

aquatic in their tastes and structure by taking to the water in search of food; and Mr. Lamont, with the emphasis of italics, can "*see no difficulty in it either*," but proposes in corroboration of the theory the following solution of the origin of the walrus:

"Suppose, then, the case of a bear (*or any other large land animal, existing or extinct*) living on the borders of the then existing Polar Sea. We can easily fancy that in the struggle for existence perpetually going on, this bear—or whatever he was—may have been compelled to take to the sea-shore and prey upon shell-fish, among other things. At first he would only go into shallow water, but he would become emboldened, by success and habit, to go deeper and deeper; even in the lifetime of one individual this would happen, and he would acquire the habit of digging shells up with his feet or his teeth—at first probably with his feet, but latterly, when he came to picking shells in a foot or two of water, he would require to see what he was about, and would use his teeth. Natural selection would now come into play, and as those animals which had the best and longest teeth would succeed best, so they would have the best chance of transmitting these peculiarities to their descendants. The tusks of the walrus are not, as I mentioned before, a pair of extra teeth, but merely an enlargement or extraordinary development of the eye-teeth, and I think it is easy to conceive that any large carnivorous animal, driven by necessity to subsist on shell-fish under water, would, in a few thousands of generations, acquire such tusks.

Also he would soon learn to dive,\* and to hold his breath under water, and from generation to generation he would be able to stay longer below. As he would have very little use for his legs, they would soon become abortive as *legs*, and grow more into the resemblance of *fins*; the hind legs would somewhat resemble the tail of a fish, and would do duty for that organ; so his real tail would almost disappear, as is the case with the seal and the walrus.

The legs of the walrus, although almost abortive, are still legs, and not fins, as *he can walk on all four* on land or ice."

This will do. Comment would be a waste of words

The volume is in the Harpers' best style of execution, and is well worthy a place in the large and valuable collection of travels published by them.

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\* I stated, *ante*, that we had seen the white bear dive for a short distance, just like a walrus.

ADVENTURES IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC.\*—It is a long stride from the Polar seas to the South Pacific, though the difference between the sport of whale-fishing in the one, and of walrus-hunting in the other, is rather one of degree than of kind. But the description of the short, quick work of an eight weeks hunt for walruses and seals, amid the icebergs and under the unsetting sun of a Polar summer, is a totally different thing from the long drawn story of a four years search for whales amid the boundless waters of the Pacific.

This volume of adventures "lays no claim to literary merit." Two young men spent five years in whale-fishing, and "have compiled from their log-books and their recollection, a plain, unvarnished narrative of this period." There are minute descriptions of a whale-boat's equipments, of the chase, capture, and "cutting in" of numerous individual whales, together with dashes of life on ship-board, and numberless accounts of ports and islands visited and peoples met with between the coast of Peru and the shores of China and Japan. It will doubtless prove an entertaining and profitable book to readers not too critical or fastidious in their tastes, and not too well read on the topics and places of which it treats. Its claims to anything beyond this sphere can hardly be vindicated.

The evidences of candor and honesty which everywhere appear to pervade the volume, entitle the following paragraphs to notice. The writer is speaking of Rarotonga (Roratonga according to his orthography) the scene of the early labors and great success of Rev. John Williams, the pioneer missionary to the Society Islands, and the resting place of all that was rescued of his remains from his cannibal murderers at Erromanga.

"The English have a missionary station here, established several years since. Some of the natives like the present missionary, and some do not. The chiefs or rulers uphold him, but the 'people' say he is 'no good,' he makes them 'work too much.' One of them informed us—and we afterward found it to be true—that if a Kanaka failed to attend church on Sabbath, he had to pay the missionary one dollar either money or fruit; if he smoked on the Sabbath, the same penalty; and several other tyrannies are practised, which has the effect of causing the natives to hate the missionary and the Gospel he teaches, and shows that unprincipled and as well as good men are sent out, though not known to be such by those who send them, to spread the Gospel

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\* *Life and Adventure in the South Pacific.* By a Roving Printer. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.



among the heathen. If a native wishes a Bible, he must pay the sum of one dollar for it, and the same if a sailor wants one."

"Quite a number of the natives came on board, wishing to go to sea with us, as they say 'too much work ashore.' It appears that they are building a church, and they do not wish to work, as they receive no pay. We are glad to be able to say that this missionary station is an exception; that at no other one that we visited during our wanderings were the natives *tyrannized* over as they were here."

The writer seems to have had no suspicion that possibly the *tyranny* of the missionary may have been only the carrying out of the wishes of "chiefs or rulers" who uphold him, and whose policy (mistaken we confess) may have been by a species of theocratic government to constrain the idle and worthless into industry and the observance of Christian proprieties. Be the explanation what it may, the paragraphs are instructive to those whom we send to preach the Gospel to the heathen.

FARADAY'S CHEMICAL HISTORY OF A CANDLE.\*—Prof. Faraday has no living superior as an experimental philosopher and observer in the processes of nature. He must also be the prince of lecturers in his favorite branches of inquiry. As he never fails in an experiment before an audience, so he never hesitates for precisely the right word. Nor are his words the convenient technicalities with which the sciolist conceals his ignorance and bewilders his audience. He not only himself thoroughly understands the subjects of which he treats, but he knows how to make them completely intelligible to the uninitiated. No matter what object in nature be his theme, he so simplifies and connects it with the whole realm of things by the illustration of its properties and functions, as to make even boys and girls delighted auditors.

One of the annual treats at the Royal Institution in London is a course of lectures before a juvenile auditory, during the Christmas holidays, by Prof. Faraday. Our readers will remember a former notice of

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\* *A Course of Six Lectures on the Chemical History of a Candle, to which is added, A Lecture on Platinum.* By MICHAEL FARADAY, D. C. S., F. R. S., Fullerman Professor of Chemistry, Royal Institution, Foreign Associate of the Academy of Sciences, etc. Delivered before a Juvenile Auditory at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, during the Christmas Holidays of 1860-1. Edited by WILLIAM CROOKES, F. R. S. With numerous illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

the course in 1859-60, on "*The Physical Forces*." These on "*The Chemical History of a Candle*," delivered last winter, are, if possible, still more entertaining and instructive. They all revolve around a single object, the candle, but still bring under review an almost endless variety of chemical principles and forces. The little candle is made to cast its light over an immense area, and to give distinctness to some of the most subtle and impalpable agents of nature. Says the lecturer, "I have taken this subject on a former occasion, and, were it left to my own will, I should prefer to repeat it almost every year, so abundant is the interest that attaches itself to the subject; so wonderful are the varieties of outlet which it offers into the various departments of philosophy. There is not a law under which any part of the universe is governed, which does not come into play and is touched upon in these phenomena."

Many thanks to the Harpers for the republication of these lectures. Would that every household blessed with reading boys and girls could have a copy of it, to compete, as it would in attractiveness, with the silly stories now devoured with such avidity. The little volume is abundantly illustrated, and in the best style of execution.

THE PARLOR GARDENER.\*—The complacent French grace of the author, easily detected through the translation, contributes not a little to the interest of this slight volume. It relates, as its name indicates, almost exclusively to the culture of house-plants, a species of gardening to which every lady is more or less addicted. Those who have little experience will find here just the advice they need, as to the selection and treatment of plants, while those who have already acquired some skill will be led on to further experiment and success. With true French art, it makes grace and beauty to consist with economy, demanding for the prettiest effects but little outlay, except of time and attention. Its directions, excepting a few which relate to balcony and terrace gardening, are practicable in any climate. It treats successively, and with sufficient fulness for all practical purposes, of the garden on the mantel-piece, on the étagère, on the flower-stand, on the balcony, and on the terrace. With the Messrs. Tilton's usual good taste, it is suited in external form, as in matter within, to a lady's handling—a dainty book

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\* *The Parlor Gardener: a Treatise on the House Culture of Ornamental Plants. Translated from the French, and adapted to American use, by CORNELIA J. RANDOLPH, of Virginia.*

of 158 pages, 18mo., printed on fine paper, in clear type, and with frequent illustrations.

TOM BROWN AT OXFORD.\*—At first glance one would scarcely call "Tom Brown" a novel; but on further thought, few works of fiction seem better entitled to the name; very few novels, now-a-days, containing anything of novelty in scene, character, or circumstance. Given, the characters, and one chapter "*in medias res*," and in nine cases out of ten, an accomplished novel reader knows the whole story—the pivot on which it revolves, and just how it turns out. But "Tom Brown" comes to us with new surroundings; and if the reader beforehand supposed it impossible for the simple stories of a school-boy and college youth, however new, to achieve such popularity, he accords them all the more praise when he finds the fresh material so delightfully worked up. The character of Tom is not a new one, and his father is the good old English squire with whom we have been acquainted from our childhood. But the boy appears in new relations, and the genius of the author makes the most of these. The result is a most fascinating book. If it had been only a tolerable one, it would, doubtless, have been widely read in England, for the same reason that every man likes to read his own journal, however badly written, kept in days gone by; it is personal. Every Englishman has been, or regrets that he could not have been, either a Cambridge or an Oxford man; and every English youth is, aspires, or sighs to be, one or the other of those happy individuals. With, therefore, a kind of "*pars fui*" feeling of good humor, they wink to each other and say, "that is the way *we* did, do, or at least, would have done, or would do, the fates being propitious. But something more than this personal feeling must account for its popularity in our own country. It is, as just hinted, attributable in part, no doubt, to the freshness of the subject. Readers jaded out with scenes in high life and low life, in city life and country life, turn with a lively expectation of something new to University life. The book is found to be not only new, but charming. The author's own relish for the feast he prepares, is apparent in its palatable compounding. The keen zest with which he enters into his hero's adventures, is infectious. Tom and Hardy are to us as much real persons as Oxford is a real place.

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\* *Tom Brown at Oxford*: a sequel to *School Days at Rugby*. By the author of "*School Days at Rugby*," "*Scouring of the White Horse*," etc., etc. Two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

We feel that it is all as true as history. These almost imperceptible, but unmistakable signs of genuineness, both in the author and in the scenes he describes, constitute a chief charm of the book. There is less of this as he departs from University life. The introduction of Mary and Kate adds, no doubt, very much to the interest of the story, but their characters have nothing of the sharp outline, nor of the delicate lights and shades, which give to Tom's, Hardy's, Dryasdale's and Blake's, such a distinct individuality. Mary is both too simple and too smart, and Kate is but little more than the young lady so well known to all novel readers, who carries broth and jelly to the sick. The idea of the book required a simple plot, which is naturally and effectively worked out. "Tom Brown at Oxford" is a novel of its own kind — fresh, original, spirited, and instructive withal, giving us a very faithful, if not, in all respects, a very favorable idea, of the social life of English University students.

SILAS MARNER.\*—More attention has been bestowed by English critics upon the Elliot novels than upon any since the days of Currer Bell. At first the literary world were most curious to find out the unknown author, and having identified her, they have spared her neither praise nor criticism. Miss Evans is evidently a scholar as well as a genius. Her works betray learning, philosophical discipline, and elegant culture; *betray*, for Miss Evans never *displays*, a proof that she neither crams nor shams. Silas Marner is a soured, silent, bachelor weaver, won over from miserly isolation and hardness to human sense and feeling by a little child providentially cast upon his care. The gradual change wrought in his nature by this new human love, is exquisitely portrayed. Polly Winthrop's character will be recognized as one taken from the life. We have all known some one such motherly, careful, mild, wholesome, God-fearing woman, whose baking always turns out "better nor common," and who "takes her husband's jokes and joviality as patiently as everything else, considering that 'Men would be so,' God help 'em." There is a deal of homely pathos in this good woman's expositions of Divine Providence. Silas Marner is inferior in merit both to Adam Bede and to The Mill on the Floss. It has fewer of those full-colored, homely, humorous pictures which, in them, pass like a succession of Dutch

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\* *Silas Marner, the Weaver of Raveloe.* By the author of "Adam Bede," "The Mill on the Floss," and "Scenes of Clerical Life." New York: Harper & Brothers.



paintings, with almost bewildering rapidity before the eye of the reader. But it has, also, less of vulgar provincial dialogue, which however amusing and true to nature, becomes after a while painfully tiresome. It is characterized by the same rich humor, and shows the same nice observation of the play of human passion, which distinguish *Adam Bede* and *The Mill on the Floss*. No one who had read those could mistake the author of this. Miss Evans is known as the translator from the German of two grossly rationalistic works (*Strauss' Life of Jesus* and *Feuerbach's Essence of Christianity*); what her own religious affinities may be does not appear in these works of fiction. Few writers so combine masculine muscle with feminine flexibility, strength with delicacy, scholarly reserve with the spontaneity of genius.

FRAMLEY PARSONAGE.\*—If Mr. Trollope in his *Three Clerks* and *Castle Richmond* forsook, for a brief period, parochial and clerical life, he vindicates his constancy to old friends by returning in this latest work to vicar, archdeacon, and bishop. Though he has less of that skill in subtle mental analysis which is a chief element of Miss Evans' power, yet he, even more than she, relies for success, rather on the interest with which he can invest single characters in an uneventful course of daily life, than on any excellence of plot, or power of *denouement*. A novelist must get his ideas of female character and influence, in a great measure from those of the other sex with whom he comes most closely in contact; we should not expect Mr. Trollope's heroines to be of the common staple kind; the lovely and simple, the plain and vivacious, or the too good. Nor are they. Whether good or bad, as to moral qualities, they are always distinctive and full of vitality. Mrs. Trollope's sons inherit a facile pen, and the novelist has presented himself to the public at such regular intervals that, while entertaining ourselves over one story we are confident that another is in progress.

HARPER'S GREEK AND LATIN TEXT-BOOKS.—If the young men now in our Colleges do not become better Latin and Greek scholars than their predecessors, it will not be for lack of cheap and inviting Text-books. This edition of the Messrs. Harpers is in every respect superior to any thing of the kind that has yet appeared from an American press, and is inferior to nothing we have met with bearing a German or an

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\* *Framley Parsonage*, a novel, by ANTHONY TROLLOPE, author of "*Doctor Thorne*," "*The Bertrams*," "*The Three Clerks*," etc., etc., etc., with illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

English imprint. The clear-cut type, the strong white paper, the convenient size and form, the flexible binding, the accurate printing, the remarkably low and uniform price of 40 cts. a volume, all combine to make it the model edition of Text-Books. It is precisely the one the student should take with him to the recitation room, and have always at hand for refreshing his memory. Whatever may be said of the benefit to the student of those corpulent "notes in English" which commonly equal and sometimes are double the bulk of the Text, the student's mind should be so familiarized to the simple Text that itself shall convey its own meaning.

HERODOTUS, in two volumes, is edited by Joseph Williams Blakely, and has a full index of proper names: THUCYDIDES, in two volumes, edited by John William Donaldson (recently deceased), besides an elaborate Latin preface defending some of the more important readings adopted, has also a very complete index; EURIPIDES, edited by Frederic A. Paley, is in three volumes, and each volume is supplied with a carefully prepared index of both words and names; ÆSCHYLUS, by the same editor, has its preface in defence of several of its readings, and also its full index. In Latin, HORACE is edited A. J. Maclean; LUCRETIUS by Hugo A. J. Munro; VIRGIL by J. Covington, Professor at Oxford; CÆSAR by George Long, who also edits a small volume of CICERO, containing his DE SENECTUTE, DE AMICITIA AND EPISTOLÆ SELECTÆ. XENOPHON'S ANABASIS, SOPHOCLES, SALLUST, and other works are to follow. Among the many great and valuable services rendered to American education and scholarship by the Messrs. Harpers, the publication of these Text-Books will not hereafter be regarded as the least.

COLLARD'S LATIN ACCIDENCE \* is intended to be introductory to *M'Clintock's First Book in Latin*. It aspires to be simply a "primary lesson book," and is thought by its author to be an improvement on similar ones, which he regards as too much encumbered with unnecessary matter, "too analytic for beginners," and "deficient in classification." The volume is supplied with numerous paradigms, questions, reading lessons, rules of syntax, vocabulary, etc. It follows the *Roman* system of pronunciation.

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\* *Latin Accidence and Primary Lesson Book*: containing a full exhibition of the forms of words and first lessons in reading. By GEORGE W. COLLARD, A. M., Professor of Latin and Greek in the Brooklyn Collegiate and Polytechnic Institute. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

**OBJECT LESSONS.\***—In the acquisition of knowledge, the child begins, first to observe, then to think, and finally to reason. The primary work in education, accordingly, should be to help the child to accurate observation, and thus assist the mind to a reception of correct impressions or images of what it sees. It is on this theory that the book of "Object Lessons" is written. Its aim is to direct attention in the education of the young, to the development of the powers of observation, rather than to the exercise of memory. Minute instructions are given on the method and means of "developing ideas" of form, color, number, size, weight, sound, place, etc., etc.

The teacher or parent who should adopt this method, would manifestly need to be on her guard not to push it to an extreme. The author himself seems to us to have almost erred in this respect. He proposes a closeness of observation and a nicety of distinction of which we suspect the vast majority of children at the age he contemplates, are incapable. But the volume abounds in suggestions to parents and teachers, which, if followed out, would not only solve that most difficult of questions, 'what can be done to interest Johnny or Charley to-day,' but better than all, lay a solid foundation for an after education.

**STRONG'S ALGEBRA.†**—The author of this treatise, a professor in Rutgers' College, has sought to embody in it "the results of certain speculations which have occupied his attention, and which seem to contribute very important additions to the science of Algebra." Thus, at one point, he develops the roots of an equation into a series, and shews that "an equation of the  $n$ th degree must have  $n$  roots;" at another "the solutions of Binomial Equations, and the Irreducible case of Cubic Equations, are completed by *pure algebra*;" and at another he gives a new method "for the development of the roots of equations," which he regards as "much more simple than any heretofore proposed." It has been the author's aim to furnish a treatise that can take the learner that will follow, to the higher walks of science, and at the same

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\* *Primary Object Lessons, for a graduated course of development. A manual for teachers and parents, with lessons for the proper training of the faculties of children.* By N. A. CALKENS. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

† *A treatise on Elementary and Higher Algebra.* By THEODORE STRONG, LL. D., Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Rutgers' College, New Brunswick, N. J., member of the American Philosophical Society, etc. New York: Sheldon & Co.

time meet the necessities of teachers and pupils from the beginning on through all the several stages of their progress.

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY AND THE PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF BROWN UNIVERSITY—Published by the Executive Board.—We were at a loss to understand the occasion of this unannounced sketch, until, having read nearly two-thirds of it, we came to the following paragraph : “Under his (Dr. Sears’) administration, the system introduced by his predecessor has been considerably modified. The increased opportunities for practical education are still continued. But inasmuch as it was found that, while the whole number of students in the partial course increased, those who pursued a full course diminished—361 students having entered in the years 1850–54, while only 108 were graduated in the full course in the years 1854–8 — it was thought expedient to abandon the three years course for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, and to diminish the prominence of the partial course. The course of study for Academic degrees has, therefore, returned to its former order and limits. The Bachelor’s Degree in arts is given at the end of four years of prescribed study; the Master’s Degree is conferred in course; the Baccalaureate in Philosophy is retained as originally prescribed.” To make known this change we may suppose to have been one of the chief reasons for the publication of the Sketch. We learn also from it that besides the regular undergraduate course, there is provision for thorough and extended instruction in analytical and practical chemistry, and also a course in civil engineering. But “in the order and course of study, Brown University does not now differ essentially from her sister Colleges in the United States.” The College Library contains 30,000 carefully selected volumes, including a very rich collection of rare pamphlets; the society libraries 6,000 volumes. The University is regarded by its friends as in a high state of prosperity.

A SOUTH CAROLINA PROTEST AGAINST SLAVERY.\*—This is a letter written by a distinguished South Carolinian from Charleston in 1776, now first published from the original. It is “taken from the collection of the Zenger Club,” and is published as evidence that the question of

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\* *A South Carolina Protest against Slavery: being a letter from Henry Laurens, second President of the Continental Congress, to his son, Colonel John Laurens; dated Charleston, August 14th, 1786. Now first published from the original. New York: G. P. Putnam. 532 Broadway. 1861.*



Slavery was not sectional at the time of the Revolution, and that, as Mr. Everett expresses it, "it is the South which has since changed, not the North." The author of the letter, Henry Laurens, second president of the Continental Congress, addressed his son, then in England; and writing amidst the opening scenes of the Revolution, in which he took an active part, his words, both as relating to slavery and revolution, have a special attraction at this hour of our country's history.

IRVING'S WORKS.\*—Mr. Putnam still sends out the regular volume a month of his National Edition. Nineteen volumes have now appeared, and two more will complete the series, though in continuation and uniform with it, will be issued in due time (and probably in three volumes), *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving*, by his literary executor, Pierre M. Irving. Certainly no one possessing the Works will consent to be without the Life and Letters, including, as they will, a literary correspondence extending over a period of nearly sixty years. It is well-known, we presume, that each work in this edition is complete in itself, and can be procured separately by those not wishing to possess the whole series. For sale, in Rochester, at Dewey's.

SUGGESTIONS FOR HOUSEHOLD LIBRARIES.†—There are many persons who are able and desirous to supply themselves and their families with respectable and useful Libraries, but whose early education and opportunities have not prepared them for the task of selecting the requisite books. For the benefit of all such persons Mr. Putnam has established a Library Agency. His "suggestions" present three different catalogues with prices attached, which are twenty-five per cent less than the regular published prices. We know of no bookseller living, whose entire qualifications for so important a commission, are equal to those of Mr. Putnam.

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\* *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U. S. A., in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West. Digested from his Journal and illustrated from various other sources. By WASHINGTON IRVING. Author's revised edition, complete in one volume. New York: G. P. Putnam, 532 Broadway. 1861.*

*Mahomet and his Successors. In two volumes. By WASHINGTON IRVING. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1861.*

*Astoria: or Anecdotes of an enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains. By WASHINGTON IRVING. Author's revised edition. Complete in one volume. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1861.*

† *Suggestions for Household Libraries of essential and standard books (exclusively of Scientific and Religious works). New York: G. P. Putnam. 1861.*

**REBELLION RECORD.\***—The first volume of this publication, comprising six monthly parts, has been completed, and part seven, the beginning of the second volume, has also appeared. The first volume has for its introduction Edward Everett's address discussing the principles and issues involved in the great contest, is also furnished with a complete index, with a colored map of the United States, and eleven portraits on steel of distinguished Generals in our army and other public men. Part seven gives an exhaustive and authentic description and illustration of the battle of Bull Run. Nothing known or written of this battle, of any value whatever, whether from Federal, Confederate, or English sources, seems here to be wanting. Mr. Russell's letter to the *London Times* on the battle is accompanied with notes that must prove very damaging to that gentleman's reputation. Those persons who are carefully filing some favorite paper with a view to preserve a diary of passing events, would find their labor lost with the Rebellion Record in hand. For sale in Rochester at Dewey's.

**SUSAN AND FRANKIE.†**—A good religious book for children of six or eight years—level to their understanding, and at the same time sensible and instructive—is not too common a blessing to receive recognition. To begin aright is better than a laborious correction of wrong. Such little volumes, insignificant in size and pretension, do their full share in shaping the future.

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\* *Part VII Rebellion Record: The Battle of Bull Run, or Stone Bridge (from every point of view), authentically described and illustrated, containing: I—The Official Reports from General McDowell, each division and each brigade. II—Official Reports of the Rebels. III—Russell's letter on the Battle, and its results, with Notes. IV—Picturesque Narratives from eye witnesses. V—The Union Press on the Battle. VI—The Secession Press on the Battle. VII—The British Press on the Battle. VIII—Incidents, anecdotes, and Munchausemiana, Rebel and otherwise. IX—A Map, with positions, etc., prepared expressly for this work, by Gen. Barry, U. S. A. New York: G. P. Putnam, 532 Broadway. 1861.*

† *Susan and Frankie. By the author of "Sabbath Talks about Jesus," "Sabbath Talks about the Psalms," etc. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co.*

## THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

## GERMANY.

The *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (edited by Ullmann & Rothe) Heft II, 1861, contains a dissertation by Bleek, in explanation of Isaiah lii: 13—liii: 12; one by Richter on the nature and law of Infant Baptism; by Steiz another discussion of the use of *ἐκεῖνος* in the classics and the Gospel of John; by Gurlitt, slight contributions to the explanation of the Gospel of Matthew; Umbreit reviews Pressel's Life and Writings of Ambrose Blaurer, and Holtzmann, Maier's Commentary on the First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians.

The *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Heft I, 1861, has an article by Hefele, the editor of the Works of the Apostolic Fathers, on Gregory VII and Henry IV at Canossa; by Aberle on the Object of the Gospel of John; by Nolte on the *Eclogæ Propheticae* of Eusebius of Cæsarea.

The *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, conducted by Profs. Rudelbach and Guericke, with a body of able co-laborers, is perhaps the chief organ of the stricter German Lutheranism. The Third Heft, 1861, devotes nearly 80 pages to discussions of Chiliasm, or the doctrines of the personal reign of Christ, as maintained by Bengel Hofman and others, and among whose recent defenders are Auberlen in his work on the Prophet Daniel and the Revelation of St. John, and Floerke (the doctrine of the Millennial Reign). One article by H. O. Köhler maintains in an extended article the unscripturalness of the doctrine of the Millennial Reign, and Ströbel and Engelhardt also denounce it in a somewhat elaborate review of Floerke's Work, as unscriptural, and as substituting the old Jewish and Secular for the more spiritual conception of the Kingdom of Christ exhibited by the New Testament. Other contents of the number are a New Year's Sermon, by H. Hoffmann, and an Essay discussing, partly favorably, partly unfavorably, the modern religious awakenings that have taken place in America, Ireland, &c.

The Exegetical Works noticed in its copious Bibliography are, The Poetical Books of the Old Testament, translated and explained by Robert Weber, Evangelical Reform Pastor (1853), which is partly condemned for its rationalistic tendencies, but on the other hand commended for the force, beauty, and precision of the language of the the version (though wanting in simplicity), and for the thoroughness of the interpretation. Æsthetically the work is highly commended; its theological merits are much less. Another work reviewed is that of

Dr. C. W. Otto, investigating anew the Historical relations of the Pastoral Epistles (1860). "In an exceedingly learned, perspicuous and thorough-going manner," he demonstrates the authenticity of these Epistles, while at the same time he arrives at the conclusion that they were written not at the late period of Paul's life now generally supposed, and consequently during a second imprisonment not recorded in the Acts, but rather at a much earlier period. The arguments for their authenticity, however, are in a great measure independent of the hypothesis of their time of composition.

From the Press of F. A. Perthes in Gotha, appeared in April the first number of a "German Quarterly for English Theological Inquiry and Criticism," edited by Dr. M. Heidenheim.

Among recent works in Theology is "Divine Revelation, an Apologetical Essay," by Prof. Dr. C. A. Auberlen, Basel (415 pp.). Dr. E. Böhl, Lic., has published The Prophecy of Isaiah, chapter xxiv-xxvii, illustrated by a commentary.

Dr. F. S. Lisco has published an Introduction to the Bible, as an aid to Instructors and readers of the Bible (260 pp.)

Superintendent O. Wolff has published a work entitled "The Book of Judith as a Historical Record, defended and explained, together with investigations regarding the continuance and extent of the Assyrian Supremacy in Asia and Egypt, regarding the Hyksos, the original seat of the Chaldeans, and their connexion with the Scythians," &c.

The Select Library of the Church Fathers (*Bibl. Patr. Eccles. Selectissima*), edited by Dr. G. B. Lindner, has reached its fourth fasciculus. This contains Tertullian's Treatise on the Soul. The Third fasc. contains Clement Alexandrine's Work *Quis Dives Salvetur*, in Greek and Latin; the Second, Tertullian on the Resurrection of the Body. These are in octavo, and cost but a trifle.

From the press of Firmin Didot has also been recently issued the first volume of the Select Works of Chrysostom (*Sanc. Joh. Chrysostomi Opera Selecta*), in Greek and Latin, edited by Fred. Dübner. The first volume contains 582 pages, and costs about \$4.

Herzog's Encyclopædia of Protestant Theology has reached the 137th Heft, as far as Sarbonne, in the letter S.

An important work in the department of Hymnology is about to be published in Germany. Prof. Philip Wackernagel, in the year 1841, gave to the world a collection of German sacred lyrics, from the time of Luther, and has since then devoted himself with great industry to a collection of sacred lyrics, both in German and Latin, from the earliest times down to the end of the sixteenth century. Prof. Wackernagel has had access to numerous sources hitherto unreached or unexplored, and will be able to give his work an extent and completeness which will place it far in advance of any previous collection, and render it an invaluable treasure to those interested in this branch of sacred literature. Special attention will be given to the purity of the text. It will be eminently complete in the hymnology, both Protestant and Catholic, of the time of the Reformation. It will be comprised in four large octavo volumes. It is from the enterprising press of Teubner, of Leipsig.



The early Christian Fathers were greatly influenced in their interpretations of the Old Testament, by the traditionary interpretations of the old Hebrew Doctors. Jerome in particular gives many explanations derived from this source. Dr. Moritz Rahmer has published one heft of a work devoted to the examination of the Hebrew traditions in the works of Jerome. This part, embracing seventy-three pages, is devoted mainly to about fifty passages of the *Questiones in Genesim*, in which illustrations are adduced from the Targums, Talmud, and other Jewish sources. The work when completed, promises to be of considerable value to the careful student in Biblical Interpretation.

Prof. Karl Von Raumer, of Erlangen, has published a fourth edition of his excellent and widely known work on *Palestine*, considerably enlarged and thoroughly revised. He has carefully availed himself of all the results of recent investigations, including those of both German and English travellers, and has thus produced a work which is probably more satisfactory on this subject than any other single book of its size. It contains 512 pages octavo.

In Philosophy and its history, we have a Lecture delivered before the Scientific Society at Berlin, by Dr. J. B. Meyer, on the Idea of Metempsychosis (*die Idee der Seelenwanderung*), and a work by Dr. H. Schultz (126 pp.) on what is implied in the Christian doctrine of Immortality.—Dr. Kuno Fischer's History of Modern Philosophy has reached the fourth volume of the entire work, and the second of an exposition and history of the development of the Critical Philosophy.

Dr. F. Susemihl, Professor in Greifswald, completes the Second Part of his work exhibiting the Genetic Development of the Platonic Philosophy. His assumption that the chronological succession of Plato's writings exhibits the course of his philosophic development, had been argued against by Bonitz in his "Platonic Studies," as neither proved nor capable of proof. Susemihl defends himself against Bonitz, citing as overwhelming evidence in his favor, the concurrent opinions of scholars like Schwegler, Steinhart, Deuschle, Alberti, Zeller, Michaelis, Ueberweg, who, however great their differences in other respects, agree in this.

Dr. C. A. Brandis, the veteran Philosophical Historian of Bonn, has also advanced a step in his Manual of the History of Greek and Roman Philosophy. The First Division of the Third Part embraces in a volume of 411 pages, a survey of the Aristotelian Philosophy, and an investigation of the doctrines of his immediate successors, as a transition to the third period in the development of Greek Philosophy.

From R. Seydel, privat. doc. in the University of Leipzig, we have also a historico-philosophical essay on The Progress of Metaphysics among the earliest Ionian philosophers. (68 pp.)

The *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*, 39 vol. I. Heft, has articles on the Conception and Problem of the Doctrine of Knowledge, by Dr. Sengler; a sixth article by Dr. Zeising, on the Fundamental Forms of Thought, in their relation to the Fundamental Forms of Being; a second essay by J. B. Meyer on Criticism, with special reference to Kant; by Fichte, Contributions to the Doctrine of "Organs of Soul," &c.

*The Zeitschrift für exacte Philosophie*, 1 vol., III and IV Heft, has articles by C. S. Cornelius, on the Reform of Metaphysics by Herbart; by Ch. A. Thilo, on the Fundamental Errors of Idealism, in their development from Kant to Hegel and Schleiermacher; two epistles of Herbart, &c.

Among the announcements of works soon to appear, is the continuation of Dr. Ulrici's well-known work entitled "Faith and Science." It will bear the title of "God and Nature," will deal largely with Metaphysics, and will bring the light of philosophical criticism to bear on the more recent schools and speculations in the field of natural science.

The "*Corpus Reformatorum*," edited, after Bretschneider, by H. E. Bindseil, has now reached the 28th volume, completing with this volume the Works of Melancthon, of which it presents a complete and most excellent edition. The last volume embraces a full and very exact chronological sketch of the life of Melancthon, and a copious index to the entire edition.

The Bodleian Library (Oxford), is among the richest, if not the richest in the world, in Hebrew printed books and manuscripts, having been enriched by successive collections of some of the most eminent Hebraists. By the direction of the Curators of the University, Mr. M. Steinschneider, who had previously distinguished himself by his labors in the department of Hebrew Bibliography, has made a complete catalogue of the printed Hebrew works in the Library, with full biographical and bibliographical accounts. The work is wrought with truly German zeal and industry, and perhaps with a touch of German pedantry. It must, however, be exceedingly interesting, and the lover of Hebrew literature can, for the moderate sum of thirty-three thalers, possess himself of an invaluable storehouse of information in that department.

CLASSICS AND PHILOLOGY.—An addition has been made to the well known and in general excellent, but very slowly advancing *Bibliotheca Græca* of Jacobs & Rost, by a new volume of Euripides containing the *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, edited with a Commentary, by Reinhold Klotz.

Two of the Tragedies of Æschylus, the *Agamemnon* and *Choëphori*, have been edited with critical and explanatory notes by Prof. H. Weil, of the Faculty of Letters at Besançon. By the judicious use of the Laurentian Scholia the editor has been enabled to make some valuable emendations of the text of Æschylus.

Two of the best German poetical translations of Aristophanes have been by Welcker and Droysen. That of Welcker aiming at a very exact reproduction of the original, is consequently somewhat stiff and heavy; that of Droysen is rather a paraphrase than a translation, the style piquant and sparkling, and the genial humor of the translator often rather replacing than expressing that of the original. A new translation by Donner, in the measures of the original, steers a middle course between the two, and combines in a good degree the fidelity of Welcker with the spirit and vivacity of Droysen.

Among other recent works are *The Principles of Greek Rhythm*—illustrated in connection with Aristides Quintilian, by Prof. J. Cäsar (305 pp.) *An Essay on the Greek Future*, by Dr. A. Franke. A sec-

ond edition of Nägelsbach's well known work on Homeric Theology, prepared after the decease of the author, by G. Autenrieth. Leo Meyer has published the first volume of a "Comparative Grammar of the Greek and Latin Languages" (455 pp.) An Essay by L. Grasberger *De Usu Pliniano*, furnishes much valuable aid to a knowledge of the silver age of the Latin Language (128 pp.) The Poems of Aurelius Prudens have been revised, with the aid of MSS., illustrated and explained by Alb. Dressel (538 pp.) Prof. A. Schleicher, one of the most distinguished Philologists of Germany, has published a Work (310 pp.) on The German Language (*Die deutsche Sprache*), designed to accomplish a two-fold object, partly to make the methods and results of Linguistic Science accessible to all educated persons, and partly to exhibit in its principal features, the nature of the German Language. The first part of Schleicher's promised "Compendium of the Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages" is also announced as in press; the Second Part to appear next year.

## FRANCE.

The French Government has committed to a Savant of Holstein, M. Detlefren, the duty of exploring the libraries of Northern Italy for the discovery of any fragments of ancient authors which may still be found in them.

Among the interesting recent issues of the Parisian Press is a Work by M. Germain, entitled the *Martyrology of the Press*, in which an experienced statesman passes in review the history of the Press with reference to the relative degrees of freedom which it has at different times enjoyed. *L' Océanie Nouvelle* is a Work by Alfred Jacobs, giving a very complete and able resumé of the natural, political and moral features of Oceanica, Australia, New Zeland, etc.

Louis de Roucheau has published a valuable Work on the Life and Works of Phidias, the great Athenian Sculptor (*Phidias, Sa vie et ses ouvrages*).

The History of the Franks, by Gregory of Tours and Frédégaire, translated by Guizot, has been revised by Alfred Jacobs, and enlarged by the Geography of Gregory & Frédégaire. M. H. Raynold, former member of the School of Athens, has published a work on That which was wanting to Liberty in the Grecian Republics. Ritter's History of Modern Philosophy is being translated into French in three volumes.

In June 1859, the Genevan Academy celebrated its three hundredth Anniversary, and a book entitled *The Book of the Rector*, has been published containing the names of all the Students (about 7000) and Professors of the Academy from 1559 to 1859.

A Work on Averroës and Averroisme is a Historical Essay by the distinguished orientalist Ernest Renan, second edition, 2 vols. Averroës is the Spanish corruption of the Arabic name Ibn-Roschd, born at Cordova in 1126. Instead of being the first to translate Aristotle from Greek into Arabic, he read Aristotle only in Syriac versions made several centuries before his time. We need not wonder then at modifica-

tions of the Peripatetic Philosophy which appear in his Commentaries, and at false interpretations of which he was himself the victim, "when we reflect that the printed editions of his works give us only a Latin translation of a Hebrew translation of a Commentary made upon an Arabic translation of a Syriac translation of a Greek Text."

The Works and unedited Correspondence of the late De Tocqueville published and preceded by a notice of him by Gustave de Beaumont, member of the Institute. 2 vols.

The Farnese Gardens in Rome occupying the site of the Palace of the Cæsars on the Palatine Hill, and a large portion of the Rome of Romulus, have been purchased by the French Emperor for 250,000 francs. They were purchased from the King of Naples, by whom they were held in fief by a Papal brief. The purpose of the Emperor in making the purchase is to make a thorough excavation of the Imperial ruins, laying bare the foundations in the same way as the Forum of Trajan and the Forum Romanum have been laid open, and thus to bring to light works of sculpture and the remains of ancient art. Any works of extraordinary value will be sent to Paris; all the rest will be preserved on the spot, which will thus be converted into a genuine museum of antiquities and art.

*A History of Engraving in France* by George Duplessis, a work crowned by the French Institute, is written by one who is master of the subject, and is full of interesting matter.

Athens described and illustrated by Ernest Breton, of the French Imperial Society of Antiquaries, and followed by a journey in the Peloponesus.

The works of Leibnitz, published for the first time from the original manuscripts—with notes and introductions by A. Coucher de Fareil, has reached the third volume.

The Philosophoumena of Origen, so called, being in fact the *Confutatio Hæresium Omnium* of Hippolytus, has been edited in Greek and Latin, with notes original and selected by Patricius Cruice.

Mr. Ch. Em. Ruelle has published a work entitled *The Philosopher Damascius, Essay on his life and works*, accompanied by nine unedited fragments, drawn from his *Treatise on first Principles*, and translated into Latin. From M. J. P. Rossignol we have a work entitled *Homeric Artists, or Critical History of the Artists who figured in the Iliad and Odyssey*.

IN ENGLAND, the ferment created by the publication of *Essays and Reviews* continues unabated. An astonishing number of books and pamphlets have already appeared and others are announced. Murray is to publish a volume of *Essays* contributed by, the Bishops of Oxford and Cork, Dr. Thomson of Queen's College, Oxford, Mansel and Rawlinson, the well known Bampton Lecturers, and others. The Bishop of Salisbury commenced formal proceedings in the Court of Arches, July 26, against Dr. Williams for writing "*Bunsen's Biblical Researches*" in *Essays and Reviews*. The article in the May number of the North British entitled "*Present movement in the Church of England*" and severely condemning *Essays and Reviews*, is attributed to Isaac Taylor, and that in the April number of the Edinburgh apologising for them, is attributed to Stanley, the biographer of Arnold of Rugby.



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